FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BULGARIA

KOR DISSOLUTION: 'CUNNING, TACTICAL'

AU021255 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Angel Bonev, RABOTNICHEEKO DELO correspondent, report from Gdansk on second stage of Solidarity congress -- recorded]

[Text] News Agency correspondents report from Gdansk on the gradually and clearly defined intentions of the Solidarity counterrevolutionary forces, which manifested themselves during the second stage of the congress. The final goal of these counterrevolutionary forces is to paralyze the activities of the Polish Sejm and to take over this supreme organ of state power.

As is known, the disbanding of the so-called KOS-KOR -- Workers Defence Committee -- was announced at the Gdansk congress. However, after this fake disbanding the establishment of a similar, new organization was announced. Angel Bonev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, reports from Warsaw:

[Begin recording] KOS-KOR has voluntarily disbanded itself but a new organization has been created in the same place in Gdansk. Its name is "Club in the Service of Independence " KOR was [word indistinct] Solidarity. The new organization asks for an independent social movement. Its purpose is the struggle for the international independence of Poland and it is assuming the task of defending the civil rights of Polish citizens. We ask ourselves -- who is threatening the independence of socialist Poland? Since when have Polish citizens been deprived of their rights? The founders of the new organization are former KOR leaders and Solidarity functionaries. KOR has voluntarily disbanded but KSN [Clubs in the Service of Independence] was born. The creators of this well premeditated operation have proved that not only in nature, but also in society, nothing is ever lost. It only changes from one form into another. I would not have dwelt on this metamorphosis, if I were not convinced that the loudly proclaimed self-disbanding of KOR is a cunning, tactical maneuver of the counterrevolution. Its leaders, as in the past, remain the chief experts of Solidarity. There is even more: From the inside they will even more soundly establish themselves in the Solidarity trade union. [end recording]

AMBASSADOR TO POLAND RECEIVED BY KANIA 4 OCT

AU041918 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] On 4 October Stanislaw Kania, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, received Ivan Nedev, Bulgarian ambassador to Poland. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the talk.

REPORTAGE ON OFFICIAL VISIT BY ANGOLA'S DOS SANTOS

2 Oct Arrival

AU021738 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, arrived in Bulgaria today on an official friendly visit.

Received by Zhivkov

AU021925 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 2 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] - Labour Party and Angola's president, who arrived here today on an official and friendly visit, had his first meeting with Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

They exchanged information on the two countries' development and made an assessment of Bulgaro-Angolan cooperation. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr dos Santos discussed a number of international matters pertaining to peace and disarmament. They attached special importance on the situation in Africa, condemned the bandit assaults by the racists of the South African Republic against Angola. After the meeting Mr Todor Zhivkov decorated Mr dos Santos with the "Stara Planina" on ribbon order for his great services for Angola's development and his great contribution to consolidating the friendship of Bulgaria and Angola. Bulgaro-Angolan talks will be resumed tomorrow.

Dinner for Dos Santos

AU022040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov tonight gave an official dinner at the Boyana Residence in honor of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]- Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola. Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev, Misho Mishev, Vasil Tsanov, Chudomir Aleksandrov and the officials accompanying Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos attended.

Talks Continue 3 Oct

AU031432 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 3 Oct (BTA) -- The official Bulgaro-Angolan talks began here today between delegations of the two countries led by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movment for the Liberation of Angola]- Party of Labour and Angola's president. Matters of bilateral cooperation and the international situation were discussed.

Assessing the previous results of the development of Bulgaro-Angolan relations as positive, the delegations discussed a number of specific measures for the further expanding and deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation. Great importance was attached to the situation in the southern part of the African Continent. The aggression of the racist South African regime against Angola was condemned. The delegations expressed their countries' solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people for freedom and independence.

The heads of the two delegations informed each other also about the development of the two countries, about the work of the MPLA and the BCP. On completing the first round of the talks, Mr dos Santos, accompanied by Mr Todor Zhivkov and the officials of the two countries, left for the town of Ruse.

On the Bulgarian side the following attended the talks: Peko Takov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and vice president of the State Council; Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs; Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; BCP CC Secretaries Dimitur Stanishev and Milko Balev; Mr Toncho Chakurov, minister of mechancial engineering and electronics; and Mr Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Complex.

On the part of Angola the following attended the talks: Mr Alphonso Vanzani Binga, secretary of the MPLA on international matters; Mr Paulo Jorge, minister of foreign affairs and member of the Central Committee of the MPLA; Mr Artur Vidal Gomes, minister of agriculture and member of the CC of the MPLA; Mr Alberto Bento Ribeiro, minister of industry; and Mr Paolino Pinto Joao, state secretary of cooperation.

Arrival in Ruse

AU031748 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party and president of Angola, arrived in Ruse today. Comrades Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Milko Balev, ministers, chiefs of central departments and the officials accompanying Jose Eduardo dos Santos also arrived with the two party and state leaders.

The guests were particularly cordially greeted by thousands of the city's citizens. Kercho Dzhambazov, mayor of Ruse, presented to Jose Eduardo dos Santos the honorary badge of Ruse. Following this, the esteemed guests, accompanied by the Ruse Okrug leaders, visited the region of the Lenin Agroindustrial Complex in Ivanovo Village. At a spontaneously organized celebration, the esteemed guests were acquainted with the history and development of this complex which has confirmed itself as a modern and highly mechanized socialist agrarian enterprise of various activities that is intensively developing itself.

Plovdiv Visit 4 Oct

AU041934 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] On 4 October Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman, and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party and president of Angola, visited Plovdiv. The first party and state leaders were accompanied by Comrade Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev and Milko Balev. The Angolan officials accompanying the Angolan president and Boyan Mikhaylov, Bulgarian ambassador to Angola, also accompanied the two leaders.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the officials accompanying them visited the 37th international technological fair. In front of the pavilion of machine-building and electronics, the important guests were greeted by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade; Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine-building and electronics: Petur Rusev, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade-Industrial Chamber and others.

Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Jose Eduardo dos Santos reviewed the exposition of Bulgarian machine-building and electronics. They showed interest in the automatic production lines and equipment of the food industry, as well as in the most modern robots and manipulators. They reviewed transportation-lifting machines produced in Bulgaria, as well as agrarian and construction machines. Nikolay Georgiev, chairman of the transport machine-building state economic trust, stressed that Bulgaria occupies one of the top places in the world in the production of motor and electrocars, and Balkancar as a company, occupies first place in the world in this branch.

The official and friendly visit of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, continued in Sofia, where he and the officials accompanying him became acquainted with Sofia's sights. They were accompanied by Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council, and Boyan Mikhaylov, Bulgarian ambassador to Angola. The guests visited the People's Palace of Culture, where the 12th BCP Congress took place and were able to see the construction in the center of Sofia and the Khristo Botev Student City. In the Kambanite area they visited the monument of the banner of peace, constructed on the initiative of Lyudmila Zhivkova as a symbol of the International Assembly, whose slogan is "unity, creativity and beauty".

PLOVDIV INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR CONTINUES

USSR's Antonov Visits 3 Oct

AU032031 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, today visited the Plovdiv Fair and the Bulgarian machine-building, electronics and agricultural technical pavillions. He was accompanied by Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, and directors general of Bulgarian foreign trade organizations.

Antonov Departs 4 Oct

AU041613 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] On 4 October Aleksey Antonov, USSR deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who was visiting Bulgaria, departed from the country. At Sofia Airport, he was seen off by Todor Bozhinov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Nikita Tolubeyev, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

International Transactions

AU032032 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Plovdiv, 3 Oct (BTA) -- The transactions made at the 37th autumn technical fair here exceeded the amount of two milliard foreign currency leva. Today Bulgarian organisations and firms of the German Democratic Republic agreed that Bulgaria deliver to the GDR low-voltage equipment, electric trucks, I.C.E. trucks, storage batteries, batteries for electric trucks and other devices to the tune of 57 million foreign currency leva, and to import communication equipment, cable fixture, electrotechnical facilities, textile, building and farm machinery to the tune of 36 million foreign currency leva.

Import-export deals between Bulgaria and Soviet organisations at the value of 24 million foreign currency leva provide for Bulgarian deliveries of I.C.E. trucks and medical equipment, Bulgaria purchases from the Soviet Union building machinery, semiconductors and medical apparatus. An agreement has been reached on Bulgaria exporting to Czechoslovakia storage batteries, batteries for electric trucks, spare parts for cranes -- to the tune of 65 million foreign currency leva, and importing "Tatra" motor cars, special cars, "Skoda" motor cars and spare parts for 47 million foreign currency leva. Bulgaria sold low-voltage equipment to Vietnam and boats to Cuba. Poland is to import in Bulgaria different kinds of equipment, and Hungary will deliver microbuses, lorries and garage facilities. A deal was also signed with organisations of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for Bulgarian export of electronic items at the value of 18 million foreign currency leva.

More on Talks, Agreements

AU021928 Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Plovdiv, 2 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign trade, had talks today with Mr Vitaliy Morozov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for economic Relations of the USSR, who is here for the 37th autumn technical fair. The talks went on problems of investment construction. The possibilities for delivery to Bulgaria of complete equipment for the staple branches -- power engineering, mechanical engineering, metallurgy and the chemical industry in the years of the 8th five-year period (1981-1985), were discussed. Problems of technoscientific cooperation were also dwelt upon.

XXX

A trade and payment protocol for 1982 was signed today by Bulgaria and Mongolia. The Bulgarian export includes machinery and equipment, medicines, foodstuffs and so on. There are going to be imported products of the fur and leather industry and woolen yarns.

XXX

Today Mr Khristo Khristov received representatives of the Canadian firm of "Massey Ferguson". Matters of production, technical and market cooperation in the field of agriculture and transport were touched upon.

XXX

A number of business transactions were made today at the 37th autumn technical fair. "Izotimpex" - Bulgaria and "Elektronorgtechnica" of the USSR made a deal to the tune of 490 million foreign currency leva, which provide for Bulgarian export of computer equipment and completed products for it, and import of radio-components. "Standard-Messo" of the FRG will supply Bulgaria with a vacuum-plant for production of low carbon alloyed steels at the "Kremikovtsi" metallurgical works. Transactions were signed with organisations from Cuba -- for Bulgarian export of refrigeration storage-houses and soft-drink enterprises; with firms of the German Democratic Republic -- for export of chemicals, measuring instruments and laboratory appliances, and for import of office equipment, chemical products and so on.

Till today transactions to the tune of more than 1,800 million foreign currency leva have been concluded at the Plovdiv Fair. More than one milliard of them are on the export line.

FORESTRY MINISTER MARKOV MEETS ALGERIAN LEADERS

AU011511 Sofia BTA in English 1442 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Algiers, 1 Oct (BTA) -- The visit of the Bulgarian minister of forests and the forests industry, Mr Yanko Markov, ended here with a real contribution to the expansion of Bulgaro-Algerian cooperation in the sphere of forest management and environment conservation. The Bulgarian minister was received by the prime minister of Algeria, Col Mohamed Ben Ahmed Abdelghani; had several talks with his colleague, Mr Mohamed Rouighi, secretary of state for forests and land development; had meetings with the minister of agriculture and the agrarian revolution, Lt. Col. Salim Saadi; and with the minister of the light industry, Mr Said Ait-Messaoudene.

During the meetings a major step towards specifying bilateral cooperation in the sphere of forest management, combating erosion, the setting up of reserves and etc. [was taken]. Reveiwed were also the possibilities for a prospective and wider-ranging cooperation in the sphere of forest management as a whole and in the training of specialists for it.

In the talks the two parties unanimously stressed that they would make every effort to further step up, expand and strengthen bilateral relations in line with the trends outlined by the leaders of the two states -- the president of the State Council of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov and the president of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, Col Chadli Bendjedid.

STANISHEV MEETS NETHERLANDS PARTY MEMBER

AU022045 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, ahs received (Frederik Mey) member of the Netherlands Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, who is vacationing in Bulgaria. During the friendly and cordial talks information on the activity of the two parties was exchanged and topical problems of the international situation and of the international communist and workers movement were discussed. A mutual desire was expressed to further develop the fraternal relations between the BCP and the Netherlands Communist Party in the interest of the parties and peoples of the two countries.

COMMENTATORS CRITICIZE POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

Aspersions on PZPR, Socialism

LD050928 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Frantisek Sojka dispatch from Gdansk]

[Text] Delegates to the Solidarity congress, which is now in its third week as a whole, have been debating in that time all sorts of things but the results of their deliberation are so negligible that more and more people throughout Poland are now beginning to ask themselves what it is in fact all about, and what is happening here in Gdansk. The answer is simple: It is a case of casting aspersions on the PZPR and socialism. This has been borne out not only by the preelection speeches of candidates to the Auditing and National Coordinating Commissions but also by the debate on the Solidarity program, which is to be a negation of and counterbalance to the program proposed by the party and government to overcome the current deep-rooted internal political crisis.

We have already spoken on many occasions in our dispatches of the disparaging content of the so-called Solidarity trade union's press, whose pages are full of hatred in the style found in cheap crime stories. These bulletins contain crude and coarse abuses against the PZPR, government and the countries of the socialist community, primarily the Soviet Union.

At yesterday's press conference representatives of several Solidarity journals talked much about the freedom of the press and about democracy and quite crudely threatened that if any steps are taken against their publications they will provoke strikes, institute court proceedings and even prevent the party press from being published. I believe that this is a graphic example of the respect for the laws and of law-abiding about which so much has been said at the Solidarity congress.

Resolution Criticized

LD040912 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0630 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Poland: The congress of the Walesa trade union organization in Gdansk continued last night in its gross provocations when it passed a so-called resolution on the laws governing workers' self-management and state enterprises. In the resolution which constitutes brazen interference in the jurisdiction of the highest legislative body of Poland, the congress accused the Sejm of allegedly paying no regard to the demands of the leaders of the Walesa trade union organization and of passing the laws according to its own will. The Walesa trade union organization audaciously and unlawfully calls for the holding of a referendum in individual plants throughout Poland on these already passed laws and also demands changes in both laws. At the same time it calls on working collectives to set up so-called genuine self-management bodies in accordance with the principles forced through by the Walesa trade union organization.

'Monotonous Marathon'

LD042120 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] The congress of Walesa's trade unions continues in Gdansk. Neither the members of the so-called National Coordination Commission, nor the program are yet known. Frantisek Sojka, our correspondent, brings the details now:

[Begin recording] The congress deliberations are being turned into a prolonged, monotonous marathon, not because the deliberations are rich in their contents, but on the contrary. Participants in the congress, which has become a badly prepared general meeting, have not yet come to any significant joint conclusions.

The often changed decision on the method of introduction of candidates for the Coordination Commission is the latest example illustrating the chaos. The last change followed after five workers had rejected their candidature. Immediately, the Presidium announced an intermission and afterwards it implored the indignant workers to withdraw their resignations.

What can working people in thousands of Polish enterprises think about the proceedings of the congress so far? And what is their view on the fact that some 900 people have been eagerly talking, for the third week even, about the necessity for an economic reform and about self-management and at the same time have been sitting in Gdansk with their arms folded.

All the journalists present and no doubt many of the delegates have also been alarmed by the information about the further extension of the congress, because problems already exist there with accommodation and food. An appeal to the people of Gdansk to take delegates into their homes and provide accommodation and food for them is being considered.

The stubbornness with which the congress participants are remaining in Gdansk is shocking. Their increasing nervousness and fatigue could be seen after the announcement of the news yesterday about the increase in the prices of tobacco products and matches.

The view on the law on self-management, which is full of conditions under which this so-called trade union association would accept it, speaks for itself. Concerning the introduction of candidates for the supreme body of Solidarity, it is full of promises and resolutions but no one yet has said, however, how, in what way, they would be fulfilled. Many speakers, however, do not forget to boast how long they have been working in the opposition against the people's power, or when they left the PZPR.

Representatives of antisocialist groups, including the newly founded independence clubs, continue to influence the proceedings of the congress. Antisocialist and anti-Soviet publications continue to appear in the Oliwia Sports Hall and its neighborhood. [end recording]

'Powerful Reply' Urged

LD021922 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 2 Oct 81

[By Prague Radio news analyst Stefan Babiak]

[Text] It is natural that all developments in present day Poland should be assessed according to their contribution toward meeting the basic requirements of Poland's working people. Seen in this light the main criterion for evaluating what does and what does not serve the interests of the workers is the approach to overcoming the deep economic crisis into which the country has been plunged as a result of counterrevolutionary attempts to erode socialism in Poland. And this is the angle from which the Solidarity trade union congress should be viewed.

The program pursued by the Polish communists is generally known and the fact remains that up until now nobody has yet submitted a more positive and constructive program than the one outlined at the Ninth Special Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Understandably the Poles are now following the Solidarity congress in Gdansk with great attention, but what is being offered as an alternative by Walesa's trade union is not a program to overcome the crisis but rather an open call by ambitious and power-hungry politicians who are out to exploit the situation and seize power, for Solidarity's draft economic program is nothing else but a recipe for a counterrevolutionary coup in Poland, designed to break up the foundations of socialism and to return the country onto the road of capitalist development. The economic reform drafted by Solidarity's experts advocates the introduction of market economy, removal of the socialist ownership of the means of production and is likely to raise the rate of inflation in the long run.

In the current difficult economic situation the Solidarity, using any pretext whatever insignificant [as heard], calls for strikes which deal Poland's weak economy one heavy blow after another.

At the cogress in Gdansk, instead of seeking ways and means to take radical measures to improve the economy, Solidarity members are debating the status of unemployment. Instead of making the best use of the assistance rendered by the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, delegates talk about the need for orienting Poland's economy on Western countries. For example, Bogdan Lis, one of the Solidarity leaders, quite seriously called for reductions in the country's defense capability and advocated that Poland's defenses should be transferred to the control of forces which are in fact sabotaging the basic certainties of the Poles.

These are only some examples of Solidarity's real approach to the current problems besetting Poland. It is abundantly clear that what is being presented from the rostrum of the Oliwia stadium in Gdansk is in actual fact a program of the erosion of socialism. Other signs are that Solidarity leadership has interpreted the Polish Government's readiness to reach agreement as a manifestation of weakness and that Solidarity is nowadays making one categorical claim after another. At present, the Solidarity trade union has assumed the role of an opposition political party pursuing overtly antisocialist policies and going out of its way to achieve political power. As is very well known, all this is happening with strong encouragement and support from the West.

Even though the Solidarity's program has yet to be approved one thing is evident already today; that Walesa's trade unions have launched a decisive stage of their advance against socialism in Poland. They have stopped making demands. They are dictating instead.

In order to protect the socialist achievements accomplished by the Polish working people over the past decade, the counterrevolutionary forces in the country should now receive a powerful reply.

Debates, Walesa Reelection

LD022050 Prague CTK in English 1941 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (CETEKA) -- Several delegates attending the "Solidarity" congress called in the debate for the return of the organization to purely trade union problems, and pointed out that its leaders were ignoring workers' interests and using the union to further their political ambitions.

They denounced corruption within the "Solidarity" leadership, dirty methods used in the fight for high functions, and machinations with which resolutions are being pushed through.

Despite these realistic stands of some delegates, the tone and the subjects of the debate were determined by counterrevolutionary elements who have apparently decided to seek a confrontation with the party and state leadership.

They attacked the leading role of the party in society, called for strengthening the private sector of the economy, and for a take-over of economic power in enterprises by means of a self-administration system.

Lech Walesa was re-elected "Solidarity" chairman, by 462 of the 837 delegates.

Trade Union Not 'Independent'

AU021226 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 81 p 7

[Miloslav Vitek commentary in column "A Note": "The Dependence of 'Independent'"]

[Text] The "Solidarity" leaders are very fussy about underscoring the full name of that organization as the "independent self-governing trade unions."

Independent of whom? Independent of the party, independent of the government? That they are, but totally independent of anyone? That is impossible. Such an organization does not exist anywhere in the world.

"Solidarity" itself provided evidence of that on 27 September, when "Solidarity's" information bureau was opened in New York; with that, said the chief of the bureau, a fellow called Przetakiewicz, "it is beginning to make its own independent foreign policy."

Let's take a look at that "independence." The offices were furnished and its activity is funded by the American reactionary AFL-CIO trade unions from funds allocated for anti-communist activity. What sort of "independent" policy then will "Solidarity" be able to make in the United States with American money?

Trade Union Official Comments

AU021330 Prague PRACE in Czech 1 Oct 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by Bedrich Kacirek, secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions: "Into the New Study Year of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement"]

[Excerpt] The high demands which we are leveling on the 1981-82 trade union study year result from the fact that the ideological struggle has become extraordinarily intense on an international scale and that the aggressive policy of imperialism, particularly of U.S. imperialism, is becoming increasingly presumptuous. This is exacerbating international tension to a dangerous extent. In their anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign our enemies are using more and more indiscriminate and refined methods against us and the other countries of the socialist community. Proof of this is the events in Poland and particularly the unparalleled provocation of the so-called appeal to the peoples of Eastern Europe, organized by the antisocialist forces of the so-called "Solidarity" with the hefty support of imperialist intelligence services and the most reactionary quarters of the trade unions in the United States and some other West European countries. This is why equipping the trade union activ and the members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement with knowledge related to the mission and tasks of the trade unions under socialism, to their position in our socialist political system and to their share in implementing the program for socialist construction on the basis of the CPCZ's policy in most vital interests of the workers and other working people today is a most important assignment in trade union education.

Our united Revolutionary Trade Union Movement invariably avows the values and principles which it has hard-won on the basis of its own and of international experiences. These experiences also result from the lessons and conclusions of the crisis-ridden development in the trade unions, as well as from the past decade of stubborn but successful struggle for enhancing the role and all-social responsibility of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in implementing the objectives of the developed society.

U.S. 'Direct Interference'

LD290938 Prague CTK in English 0828 GMT 29 Sep 81

[Text] Prague, 29 Sep (CETEKA) -- The way how the U.S. press writes about the situation in Poland in these days gives evidence of attempts at direct interference in the internal affairs of Poland, today's RUDE PRAVO said.

The daily pointed out the statement in the Washington POST that Poland must show the West a sensible and practical strategy to overcome the present economic crisis. The paper "mistakes" the government of a soverign socialist country for the government of a satellite country whose activity is determined by Washington, the paper wrote.

However, the U.S. Government's circles and monopolistic capital carefully conceal their real aims and obscure them by a flood of phrases about the "interests of the Polish people," the daily stressed.

However, U.S. President Ronald Reagan clearly showed their true aims when replying to a question in an interview about his government's policy towards Poland, he said that what we see in Poland is the beginning of extinction of world communism, the paper noted.

It is apparent, and numerous commentaries in the U.S. press only confirm it, that the tactics of "creeping counterrevolution" is the most suitable for the enemies of the people's power in Poland, which would lead, in its consequences, to liquidation of socialism and the break up of Poland from the fraternal family of the socialist countries, RUDE PRAVO concluded.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS LINKED TO COUNTERREVOLUTION

AU012101 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 38 23 Sep 81 pp 1, 3

[Second installment of Karel Horak article: "On the Development of the Situation in the Polish People's Republic; In the Service of Counterrevolution"]

[Excerpts] Last year a lot of evidence was submitted confirming that "Solidarity's" counterrevolutionary efforts are being supported by anticommunist centers abroad, not only morally but also materially. The "Solidarity" congress in Gdansk was also at the center of their attention. The bourgeois informatin media did not spare their laudatory commentaries and expressions of support. And it is only typical that this rally of counterrevolutionaries also received a blessing from the highest authority of the Catholic Church. Everyone who is not blinded by the crudest anticommunism must be revolted by the way Pope John Paul II compared "Solidarity's" struggle to the sacrifices the Polish people made during World War II.

The pope never was and never will be a defender of socialism. But he knows very well the horrors of the Nazi occupation of Poland and the plans of fascist Germany to liquidate the Polish nation. And despite all this he supports and encourages those forces in the Polish People's Republic which are striving to liquidate the results of the antifascist struggle, and demagogically compres "Solidarity's" counterrevolutionary activity to the people's struggle against the Nazi cutthroats. In order to disorient the working people and help keep them under the influence of this antisocialist organization, he does not hesitate to trample on and besmudge the memory of the 6 million dead who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism.

Even though the conclusions of the congress have not yielded much that is new, there is no doubt that they gave the known facts a new character and a new significance.

The main direction of the attack at the congress was centered on the foundations of socialism -- the socialist ownership of the means of production. The congress approved the principles of the so-called economic reform, which is to be implemented through the "self-government of collective economic mechanisms." Its essence is the demand that the society's ownership of the means of production be transferred to a group (which in practice means private ownership) and the state be deprived of any possibility of intervening in the management of the economy and appointing directors of enterprises.

That this is a concept aimed at depriving the socialist state of its economic basis and thus at its de facto liquidation is being modestly concealed. The main essence of this so-called economic reform is being disguised by demagogical phrases about transferring enterprises to workers. It is not difficult to guess who would manage and administer them. It would be the same class which the Polish people deprived of the ownership of the means of production and of governing 36 years ago.

However, in this struggle which "Solidarity" declared, "self-government" is not the only issue. By pushing through its interpretation of "economic reform," pluralism of ownership, as the basis of political power pluralism, is to be introduced. A referendum held in an atmosphere of intense nationalism, a complex economic situation, weakened party and state bodies, in an atmosphere of moral and physical terror, according to the plans of the antisocialist forces, will be to prove the illegitimacy of the government and the Sejm, express full support for "Solidarity" and present it as the spokesman for the nation and society.

This has to create conditions for fulf lling the other provocative resolution of this congress -- calling for the so-called free and democratic elections. "Solidarity" asserts that the draft law on national committees (elaborated by the government), which preserves the system of the national front and its functions, violates the constitution of the Polish People's Republic. This demagoguery is designed to confuse the working people and present as "democratic" the concept of elections proposed by "Solidarity." Their essence is to be a free participation of all political parties and social organizations, from which everyone would submit their slate of candidates. The number of candidates for posts would not be restricted. It demands the abolition of the constitutional right of the national front bodies to select and approve candidates for the functions of deputies.

This project of "democratic" elections is accompanied by a demand for the free return of political emigres (that is, of counterrevolutionaries, representatives of the toppled bourgeoisie and all others who are fighting the power of the workers class in the Polish People's Republic from abroad) and for founding new political parties and counterrevolutionary organizations. And that all of these should join the election campaign! Is other, still stronger evidence necessary to show what "Solidarity's" aims are? After all, the proposal of "free" elections is nothing but a copy of the well-known theater in the capitalist states. It proceeds from the principles of political pluralism with a free play of political forces, and its logical outcome would be the liquidation of the revolutionary accomplishments of the Polish people and the establishment of a bourgeois democratic system.

There is another conclusion reached at the congress that serves the struggle for power -- the demand for the so-called social control of information media. In practice that means the free, uncontrolled access by "Solidarity" to the state information media and state control of mass information. What the "Solidarity" leaders are after is to be able, according to their own will, controlled by no one, to go on spreading antisocialist views, influencing people's thinking, fanning passions and discrediting the party and socialism. And quite in keeping with the spirit of "Solidarity's" policy, this demand is also accompanied by a threat: should the government not comply, there will be strikes in the information media -- and as L. Walesa declared -- "Solidarity" will set up its own television and radio station. They already have technical equipment -- allegedly presented by an Austrian organization. The equipment's real origin from anticommunist ideodiversionary centers is not difficult to figure out.

The conclusions of the "Solidarity" congress are a slap in the face and a mockery of the PZPR, the government, socialism and the Polish people. They reveal "Solidarity's" attitude toward the so-called line of agreement and dialogue. Its representatives are interested neither in agreement nor in dialogue.

There is not nor can there be any room for a program and activity such as those approved by "Solidarity" in Gdansk. The situation has become dangerous. The counterrevolutionary threat to the state is growing, it is stated in the announcement of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

The struggle against the counterrevolutionary threat inevitably requires the unity of all those to whom a free, socialist People's Poland is dear. But this unity can only be achieved on Marxist-Leninist class positions. It is impossible in the class struggle, in the struggle for power going on in the Polish People's Republic, to unite the working people on the platform of some abstract "Polish" unity, on a platform of false patriotism, democracy and freedom while both the church and "Solidarity" are termed patriotic forces. Such an approach together with constant concessions and compromises are like grist to the mill of the class enemy.

The struggle against the counterrevolution that our party waged in the late sixties has shown that the counterrevolution cannot be defeated with appeals and that enemies of socialism do not voluntarily abandon their positions. The CPCZ's experiences confirm that the struggle against the rightist, counterrevolutionary forces must be waged consistently and resolutely, that it must be conducted in the ideological and political fields and that full use must be made of the power tools of the socialist state whenever the antisocialist forces violate the law. The more than 60-year old history of socialism has proved that there can be no agreement with those people whose aim is the destruction of the socialist system.

It has been reaffirmed many times in practice that he who concludes such an agreement -- even though his subjective intentions may be the best possible -- objectively betrays the interests of the workers class and socialism.

COMMENTATORS CONDEMN U.S. ARMS PROGRAM, POLISH TU

Gafrik on 4 Oct

LD041146 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 4 Oct 81

["Review of International Events" by Jozef Gafrik]

[Excerpts] While the general debate was going on at the 36th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the American President came up with a speech which can only be termed as a very peculiar contribution to solving current international relations. He announced a new, 5-point armament program which involves the building of 100 new MX intercontinental missiles and the production of a new giant bomber. Moreover, the development of the so-called stealth aircraft is to be continued. This aircraft is impossible to detect on radar screens. And there are other things. And to what purpose? The American administration remains ready to mount an armed intervention anywhere where American interests demand it. This is exactly what the American President said during his press conference last Thursday.

True, this is nothing new; what is new, however, is the self-assurance and provocativeness with which the American President wants to impress on the world the legitimacy of Washington's right to mount such actions. Terms such as the defense of oil fields were used in abundance in his speech, and he made it equally clear that he will not permit a repetition of what had happened in Iran. In other words, he will do his utmost to ensure that the United States works against popular revolutions.

The United Nations General Assembly provides a forum from which representatives of individual member states give the views of their respective governments on individual aspects of world developments. At the current session, Poland was often mentioned, and it is only natural that the Czechoslovak foreign minister should also speak about it in his address. He did not conceal our concern about the developments in that country, for we are not linked with Poland by mere virtue of history and common frontiers but above all, by the joint building of socialism. We reject the West's interference in Polish affairs and voice our conviction that the Polish party and government will find enough strength to deal both with the external and internal enemies of the socialist system.

The congress of the so called independent trade union in Gdansk, however, shows that such action against the counter-revolutionary forces will have to be more resolute in the same way as the attacks by these forces, too, are becoming more and more resolute. In the program document, which bears virtaully no similarity with a trade union document but which, on the other hand, has all the marks of a programme of a political party, not a single word is said about helping the government to tackle the current situation. On the contrary, measures are demanded that can only make it worse.

And one more thing is typical. During the congress the anti-socialist organization, known under the abbreviation KOR [social self-defense committee], was supposely dissolved. Really? In fact what happened was that members of this counterrevolutionary grouping merely put things on the right footing and amalgated, so to speak, with the so called Solidarity, with the intention of being able to push their ideas through more effectively and advantageously, ideas that are playing into the hands of those forces in Europe which call for confrontation and not dialogue.

Both words, confrontation and dialogue, are foreign words and we feel them in both our languages, as if they were adopted. [as heard] But as far as their content is concerned, we know very well what is hidden behind them. For this reason we unequivocally and emphatically support dialogue and not confrontation.

Cedrovsky on 2 Oct

LD022105 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Commentary by Editor Jiri Cedrovsky entitled: "The Heavy Artillery of U.S. President Reagan"]

[Text] For the past 3 months Ronald Reagan did not give any press conference. American newsmen were not very pleased. Reagan did not react, however, and continued to gather his strength. Then in last night's television press conference, he hit with the energy of a man demonstrating how to bend rails:

Congressmen are against the sale of American arms, including the AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia. I have decided that these arms will be sold! Israel is clamoring that this will endanger its security? We have never left our most loyal friend in the Middle East in the lurch! Cuts in public expenditure, reduction in taxes favoring rich Americans and monopolies? Congress is objecting? I shall use the right of veto, said the American President.

Ronald Reagan hardly finished dealing with these problems when he immediately went over to the offensive. Americans heard from their television sets that pacifism is spreading in Western Europe. The President thundered: If we allow these pacifists and neutrals, who are railing against increases in military expenditure and the deployment of our nuclear missiles, to continue their activity, then we shall all find ourselves in great difficulties.

What he meant by difficulties Ronald Reagan explained straight away when he reproduced the worn out invention about the so-called Soviet threat and attempted to convince the journalists present in the studio and the television viewers that the United States must continue to arm; otherwise the Soviet Union might take advantage of the so-called vulnerable window of the United States.

It is a fact that the American President did not attempt to explain this lie further, for instance in the way American Secretary of Defense Weinberger attempted to do this week when he commented on the Pentagon's brochure concerning Soviet military potential. The American president did not concern himself with such matters because he had earlier cast himself in the role of a strong man before whom even the clock on the wall shakes, a man whose word has the power of a fist and whose fists are always ready to clear out a saloon bar. The United States then heard that if necessary and if it is in America's interests, its soliders would intervene in the Middle East just as in El Salvador. It appears to be in the interest of the United States to tighten the belt as far as schools, hospitals, pensioners and the blacks are concerned and to install the new intercontinental MX missiles, the latest cry of military fashion, to restart production of the B-1 bombers and to prepare as quickly as possible production of the invisible stealth aircraft.

From the moment Ronald Reagan entered the White House, the militant utterances of the American President have often been debated with the result that the realization is now gaining strength that in the White House there rules a man favoring strength and strong knuckles but who totally lacks a sense of reality both in the world and the United States itself.

CHNOUPEK MEETS CUBAN, TUNISIAN COUNTERPARTS

LD0220527 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] New York, 2 Oct (CETEKA correspondent) -- Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 36th session of the U.N. General Assembly, met here today with his Cuban counterpart Isidoro Malmierca.

They discussed some aspects of the relations between the two countries and the international situation in connection with the agenda of the session.

Also today Minister Chnoupek met with Tunisian Foreign Minister Beji Said es-Sebsi to discuss relations between the two countries and some problems concerning the U.N. General Assembly session.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES FRENCH TRADE UNION OFFICIAL

LD021256 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, met a delegation of the French General Confederation of Labour, headed by Pierre Gensous, its secretary, in Prague today. They exchanged experiences accumulated in trade union work in the two countries, briefed each other about future tasks and objectives of its promotion and discussed the further intensification of contacts between the two trade union organizations.

BILAK, LENART RECEIVE CUNHAL-LED PCP DELEGATION

LD041034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] A Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] delegation headed by Alvard Cunhal, the party's general secretary, arrived in Prague by air today at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The delegation consists of Francisco Lopes, member of the PCP Central Committee and of the leadership of the PCP's city organization in Lisbon, and Albano Nunes, member of the Central Committee and the head of its International Relations Department.

The Portuguese delegation was welcomed at the airport by CPCZ Central Committee members Vasil Bilak, secretary of the CPCZ central committee, and Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES CEREMONY AT DUKLA

LD032152 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Oct 81

["Excerpt" from speech by CSSR Minister of National Defense Army Gen Martin Dzur at a commemorative gathering to mark the 37th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, on 3 October at the Czechoslovak army memorial at the Dukla Pass -- recorded]

[Text] The Carpathian-Dukla operation, which begun the direct liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist yoke, was an important help to the combatants fighting in the Slovak national uprising. It multiplied the strength of the domestic antifascist resistance movement and made a decisive contribution to the successful accomplishment of the national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks, headed during the period of the fascist occupation by the CPCZ.

In the postwar years of socialist construction, by the strengthening and development of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship and all round cooperation, the revolutionary heritage of the Dukla Battle has been consistently fulfilled. The leadership of our party and the state, proceeding from the wishes and aspirations of our people, gives its unconditional support to the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, which stems from the principles of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, international responsibility for the defense of socialism and world peace.

The current complicated international situation, however, demands that we devote appropriate attention to ensuring security. This demands, therefore, that the armed forces improve all-round preparedness and maintain a high degree of vigilance and combat readiness. We realize fully that the guarantee of the reliable defense of our homeland lies in the firm unity between the armed forces and the people, in the continual guidance of the armed forces by the communist party and in our unshakeable bond with the Soviet armed forces and other armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty states. [applause]

1981 GRAIN, HAY HARVEST FALLS SHORT OF PLAN

AU021152 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "The Harvest's Quality Will Decide"]

[Excerpts] The appeals for a most responsible approach, above all to measures aimed at reducing the losses of food-related raw materials and bulk fodder to the minimum, are this year more urgent than ever. The grain harvest was not a success. Compared with the plan, we must count on about a 12 percent shortfall. Even though the harvest of corn for grain has not yet been concluded, this will not change much the overall result of the grain harvest. For this reason, the agricultural management agencies have recommended that all enterprises allow -- from among the fields of corn that were originally to be harvested in a green state for silage -- selected areas to ripen. But one cannot rely on this. The reality of the possibility of purchasing the lacking fodder grain abroad is hard and merciless. The necessary foreign currency is lacking. Thus agricultural enterprises cannot expect that the state will cover their needs, as was customary in years past. If the ranking personnel of agricultural enterprises do not now begin a maximum saving of grain fodder and fodder mixtures, they will meet with great difficulties when assessing and taking stock of the year 1982.

The situation is all the more complicated because the hay harvest also did not fulfill expectations. Farmers had paid considerable attention to this harvest, as is attested to by the hay reserves, which are this year considerably larger than in preceding years.

Meadows and pastures yielded about 15 percent less clover and 20 percent less lucerne.

The demand for greater production of bulk fodder is being regarded in quite a few places as a sort of a fashion. This is quite incorrect, of course. But what is worse is that many people are trying to hide behind this feeling the shortcomings in livestock-breeding work; mistakes in taking care of animals; unsuitable zoo-hygienic conditions which are reducing the effectiveness of fodder; the non-observance of feeding timetables and so forth. In recent years, for example, farmers have been criticizing -- and to a certain extent with justification -- the quality of industrially manufactured fodder mixtures as lacking protein components, vitamins and other biofactors. There was no foreign currency to import them.

BRIEFS

PEOPLE'S PARTY CHAIRMAN DIES -- Frantisek Toman, Presidium member of the Czech National Front; deputy of the Chamber of Peoples Federal Assembly; CSR minister without portfolio and chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party died suddenly on 20 September. [Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Sep 81 p 1 WA]

REPORTAGE ON POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

'Gigantic Hammer'

LD021636 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1555 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Report by ADN Correspondent Paul Weinreich]

[Text] Gdansk, 2 Oct (ADN) -- The "Solidarity" leaders gathered in Gdansk for a week have now finally officially formulated, in the form of a "program," their claim to assume power in the Polish People's Republic and their objective of destroying the socialist social order. The program presented at the "Solidarity" congress is, throughout, a program of counterrevolution. The objective was publicly made clear by such "Solidarity" top officials as Modzelewski and Rulewski, who said that the socialist power of the state will have to be "torpedoed;" "Solidarity" will have "to smash the existing system in Poland like a gigantic hammer."

The "program", which is tantamount to the manifesto of a political opposition party, no longer talks of socialism, whereas during the past months a number of leaders of that organization still pretended for tactical reasons, the "Solidarity" did not intend to remove the foundations of socialist social order.

Now the mask has been dropped completely. The "program" cites the objective of the "total reshaping of the state and the economy"; the creation of bourgeois forms of rule is demanded, which amounts to the destruction of the social ownership of the means of production. Lipinski, one of the leading strategists of the counterrevolution, said at the congress that the term "reform" will have to be more sharply defined, adding: "We do not regard ourselves as socialists, we are for the private ownership of the means of production."

The program contains corresponding guidelines for agriculture. Blows are to be struck against state-owned farms and agricultural production cooperatives in favor of the accelerated development of private enterprise.

The whole congress as well as the contents of the program are also imbued with hostility toward the alliance of the Polish People's Republic with the socialist states and toward world socialism. In this spirit a reorientation of the whole of Polish foreign trade policy is demanded. The accompanying music is provided by a number of exhibitions on the sidelines of the "Solidarity" congress, which were characterized by spiteful attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

TRYBUNA LUDU Cited

LD021842 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw 2 Oct (ADN) -- On the draft program of Solidarity, TRYBUNA LUDU writes: "Firstly, in this comprehensive, detailed document the word 'socialism' is used only once, and then as an attribute of the state. There is no mention in the draft at all of socialism, not even where the program speaks of the traditions of Solidarity. According to this [program] one draws on the values of Christian ethics, of national tradition, of the workers' and democratic traditions, but with no mention of the socialist traditions.

"Secondly, the document says expressly that Solidarity is the only force which provokes change. For the authors of the draft there was no sixth plenum and no extraordinary ninth party congress. There is the state power, as opposed to which alternative programs are formulated, as if this state power had no program.

"Thirdly, there is a method in this.

This method consists of presenting an anti-crisis program and principles of economic reform which differ from the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Party Congress and the documents decided by the Sejm.

"Fouthly, it is astounding that there is a formulation of tasks and objectives without reference to the realities and possibilities, and which are above all, placed in the form of demands to state authorities.

"Fifthly, a thorough reading of the chapter "Self-Governing Republic" can lead to thoughts that this is not the People's Republic of Poland. The suggestions made there do not have any place within the framework of the constitution," the paper writes.

With the concern one reads the section which dealt with the nomination of candidates for the people's councils by organizations and groups of citizens which existed outside the National Front.

"Sixthly, the draft program does not suggest reaching any kind of understanding with the state authorities, but pushes for a binding commitment to realize the crisis program worked out by Solidarity, with its own version of economic reform and its own idea of the 'self-governing republic'".

In the discussions at the congress one repeatedly heard explanations about the necessity of "small steps" by people from the so-called moderate wing, TRYBUNA LUDU writes, and asks in its conclusion: "Are those supposed to be the small steps?"

Solidarity's Foreign Links

LD022009 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1707 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (ADN correspondent) -- Solidarity has constructed a big network of contacts with Western subversion centers which provide it with comprehensive material support. Western embassies are also among points of contact, the Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI reports.

In Rome the Solidarity official Rozplochowski held "unofficial talks with the U.S. Embassy". "He underlined inter alia that a firm comment was made by the U.S. Government on possible changes in governmental power in Poland which would be desirable."

The paper reports that some 32 Solidarity delegations went to Western foreign countries during the period September 1980 to July 1981.

A number of prominent Solidarity representatives received hundreds of thousands of dollars for their activities in Poland, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI continues. A promise for a further $3 million has already been given. Apart from financial support, Solidarity also received technical equipment such as radio transmitters. Solidarity cadres are being trained abroad.

The article deals in detail with the counterrevolutionary forces' contacts during many years with revanchist circles in the FRG. In this spirit, Jacek Kuron, with the help of Western media, repeatedly "expressed ideas which show remarkable accord with the principles of imperialism". He also pleaded for "Germany's reunification" so that Poland would then have "have common frontier with a noncommunist country."

U.S. ARMS PROGRAM AIMS AT 'MILITARY SUPERIORITY'

LD032304 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Washington: Yesterday evening, U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced a new U.S. nuclear arming program. Even American media speak of the most comprehensive, massive and portentous nuclear arming program the United States has put into action in the past 30 years. More details from Horst Kaeubler:

[Kaeubler] Decisions with dangerous consequences have now been taken in Washington. President Reagan gave the go-ahead for the building of the mobile intercontinental MX missile system. In the face of massive protest, the death weapon is now not to be stationed in Nevada and Utah, where 4,600 bunker positions have already been measured among which the MX was to be constantly transported back and forth to deceive the enemy. Instead, the first 100 MX missiles are to be stationed in the silos of Arizona, via Arkansas as far as North Dakota where the Titan and Minuteman intercontinental missiles are now stored. Each of these MX missiles is to be equipped with 10 nuclear warheads whose explosive force is 10 times that of the Hiroshima bomb. But the Reagan administration's nuclear ambitions do not stop here. The U.S. President is revitalizing a project that the Carter administration canceled in the face of massive public protest and serious doubts on the part of military experts. The White House is ordering the construction of 100 nuclear bombers, a modified version of the B-1. At the same time progress is to be made in the Pentagon laboratories on research and development work on a so-called Stealth bomber which is designed to elude enemy radar screens. American nuclear arms on the world's seas are to enter a new phase. President Reagan is demanding a step-up in the arming of the new nuclear-powered Trident submarines with long-range missiles armed with multiple nuclear warheads and Cruise missiles which pass under radar screens. Finally, the command and communications system of the Strategic Air Command which directs the control centers for the use of nuclear weapons is to be fully modernized.

No, it is not a couple of modifications that were used as a pretext when Washington, after 7 years of negotiations, abruptly rejected the ratification of SALT II to limit strategic weapons between the USSR and the United States. What the Reagan administration has now announced presents to the world public the explanation of why SALT II is not wanted, why negotiations are shunned, why definite results in the matter of arms limitation and disarmament are avoided. And so as not to reap a storm of indignation the world over, the U.S. President speaks of this nuclear program as serving only one purpose, to close the window of vulnerability. Windows of vulnerability: Did the Soviet offer of a summit meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Ronald Reagan to discuss measures for securing peace come through this window? Was it not through this window that Andrey Gromyko's remarks to the United Nations in New York that the USSR is not seeking confrontation with the United States but normal relations for the benefit of the whole of mankind were presented? No, what the Reagan administration is announcing has nothing to do with defense, national security, the protection of the country against an external threat. The Reagan administration is initiating a strategic program which is openly aimed at achieving nuclear first-strike capacity, at military superiority.

Shortly after it became known, American media described this program as the comprehensive, massive and portentous program of nuclear arming in 30 years, a program which dangerously lowers the threshold of nuclear war.

TALKS ON SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY HELD WITH FRG

LD021516 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1434 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 2 Oct (ADN) -- Further negotiations between the GDR and the FRG on an agreement on cooperation in the fields of science and technology took place in the GDR capital, Berlin, today at the Ministry of Science and Technology. The GDR delegation was headed by Dr Wolfgang Lueupold, state secretary in the Ministry of Science and Technology. The FRG delegation was headed by Hans-Hilger Haunschild, state secretary in the Federal Ministry of Research and Technology.

GASPAR LETTER TO WALESA, CONGRESS VIEWED

Gaspar's Letter

LD032308 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Discussion between Szabolcs Szilagyi, Budapest Radio correspondent in Warsaw, and unidentified program presenter, in the "168 Hours" magazine program -- live]

[Text] [Presenter] Good evening, I greet our listeners to the 38th edition of our program this year. By way of introduction, I invite you to listen to a conversation, which is made topical by the fact that in Gdansk, in Poland, the congress of the organization which is called Solidarity is at present in session. The decisions of its consultations could, presumably, considerably influence the development of the situation. They could promote settlement or could deepen the crisis, which it would now be difficult if deepened. At the end of the line is our Warsaw correspondent, Szabolcs Szilagyi. Szabolcs, let us begin with the fact that the second, concluding stage of the Solidarity congress was planned to last 8 days. Now, I think this period ends today. Will the congress, the consultations, end today or not?

[Szilagyi] There can be no question of its ending today. According to a still cautious estimate from Gdandk, if the agenda can be adhered to, the congress will close on Tuesday.

[Presenter] The first stage -- I think I do not exaggerate if I put it like this — was an open challenge by Solidarity to the socialist social order, and the party leadership, the government, reacted fairly decisively to this challenge. Several statements have been made and I would highlight the fact that the leadership -- Rakowski said this, I believe -- will make subsequent policy dependent on the direction followed by the second stage of the Solidarity congress -- which way it develops.

[Szilagyi] This congress, that is to say its second stage, has not yet ended. For this reason one should wait before giving a final conclusion. At any rate, all that is known so far of Solidarity's program is its vague, amorphous and debated draft. In the debate, too, everything is contradictory so far. From an aggressive, malicious, antisocialism, through more moderate voices, to opinions seeking a, to some extent, loyal agreement with the leadership, we can find every direction, shade of mood and politics, here at the Gdansk consultations. But I think that the final outcome of the Solidarity congress will depend on the spirit of the program to be adopted and on the composition of the new National Consultative Commission. These are as yet open issues.

[Presenter] Now, in connection with this, let me ask this: Once again, Walesa has become Solidarity's leader, the chairman, perhaps a little bit contrary to expectations. What conclusions can be drawn?

[Szilagyi] Well, I do not cherish even the slightest illusion that the congress will support the direction, which as adopted at the Sixth PZPR Plenum, initiated for socialist renewal. I base this pessimistic opinion on the fact that, although at yesterday's election of the Solidarity chairman the center came out the winner, just about the winner, with a small score, in the person of Walesa, I would still not dare to draw any conclusions from this as to the direction of the program.

But, in fact, outspokenly rightwing and at times antirevolutionary trends have received, and still are receiving, frequently strong emphasis in the debate. Yesterday, for example, a Silesian delegate by the name of Switon openly demanded the formation of a new opposition political party. We must draw the line between us and the PZPR, he said, and proposed that PZPR members should decide whether to leave Solidarity or the party. And Switon also adopted the slogan that the party must be weakened. And he had another proposal: that Solidarity should take under its patronage the organization of former political prisoners which is about to be formed.

So, in my opinion, it is much less decisive who has become Solidarity's chairman; this can only perhaps indicate something, that perhaps the center or perhaps the moderates' line will win; what can be decisive is whether these types of proposals, which I have just quoted, will be incorporated in Solidarity's program. This will be decided in the coming days.

[Presenter] Perhaps we could say that the question is whether Solidarity will remain a trade union, or whether it is a trade union, or whether rather, much rather, it is a political organization that desires power and aims for power.

[Szilagyi] Yes, this is the key issue. Endeavors aimed at taking over power are very discernible, because, after all, what can one say about the fact, for example, that Solidarity, parallel with the network of state institutions, is already forming its own institutions such as press, scientific research centers, and control bodies. Its demand to have control over social and economic life, foreign trade, over the market, goods distribution and many other branches, points to this, that is, to the total abandonment of the trade union character. One of the delegates is now also demanding the control of the war industry, the army, internal affairs and state security, the practice of supervision by Solidarity. Another speaker is proposing the banning of politics in places of work. What this means in practice, and he openly says this, is that the party committees should be liquidated, abolished, in plants. At the same time he does not speak about Solidarity's political activity in these same plants.

[Presenter] What are the latest developments today of this consultation?

[Szilagyi] According to a PAP report, the debate is continuing about the relationship between public life and Solidarity. This is today's topic. The list of candidates for the National Consultative Commission, will be decided today. So far 150 candidates have been accepted for the 61 or so places on this commission. We already know that each candidate may introduce himself in a brief, 2-minute speech this afternoon. Well, that is as much as we know about today.

Here before me is a Telex issued by the Polish news agency at dawn today. It says that the letter which Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council [SZOT], sent to Lech Walesa in reply to the invitation to the [Solidarity] congress, was read at the Gdansk consultations.

Observers here dwell on three of the letter's sections. Our public opinion, Hungarian organized workers, looked forward to your congress with lively interest, Sandor Gaspar writes, and he continues: We must tell you honestly that we have been disappointed in our expectations. Antipathy and indignation were aroused among Hungarian organized workers by the message your congress addressed to all the workers of East Europe, in which you called for the setting up of free trade unions, for the following of the Polish example. The letter describes this message as interference in our country's internal affairs and rejects it, also stating that this is what makes it impossible for us to take part in the second stage of the congress.

Now, the Gdansk and Warsaw observers highlight in the letter of the SZOT secretary general those parts which say that the Hungarian trade unions have fruitful relations with every European, and also many other trade unions; understandably, we make use of their experiences in the real interests of the workers and in the interest of improving work. At the same time, what Solidarity proposes to us is unacceptable.

The letter's closing thoughts express the view that at the Solidarity congress, whether they wanted this or not, an antisocialist, anti-Soviet platform found expression and that we are not partners to such a program. It is a historical fact that a person who, in the workers movement, takes his vocation seriously, cannot represent the workers movement on an antisocialist platform, because this path leads nowhere.

Sandor Gaspar's letter finally notes: In the spirit of our internationalist obligations and of the traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship, we are ready at any time to discuss and debate the role and calling of the trade unions.

So, the letter, as the SZOT secretary general requested, was read in Gdansk. Up until now we do not know from the reports of the Polish news agencies how the addressee, Lech Walesa, or the delegates at the Solidarity congress, have reacted to this letter.

Draft Program Noted

LD021010 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] At the Solidarity organizations congress in Gdansk a program was submitted which demands significant socioeconomic changes. The 40-point draft mentions the establishment of a republic by self-management; at the same time it ignores the fact that Poland's official name is the Polish People's Republic. It also appears in the program that the means of production should be handed over from the state sector of agriculture to the private sector. There was one speaker who demanded that the party committees be dissolved in the enterprises, saying that there is no room for politics in the workplace. Our correspondent Szabolcs Szilagyi points out that the Solidarity draft does not even take account of the government anticrisis program.

DAILY CONTINUES DISCUSSION OF 1956 SITUATION

LD041955 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Oct (MTI) -- NEPSZABADSAG, organ of the HungarianSocialist Workers' Party, continued on Sunday its series of article on Hungary in 1956. The seventh part entitled "A Vegkifejlet" (The Catastrophe) describes the tragic events between October 29 and November 4.

Radio Free Europe instigated people ever more hysterically for bloodshed, recalls the Budapest daily. On October 29 the radio network called on the 'freedom fighters' not to give a bit of coal, nor a drop of petrol to the Imre Nagy government. "The counterrevolutionary groups and the majority of the parties considered the above guideline as standard" and many of them even declared so in their own papers in the following days. In a bid to outrun the counterrevolution, Imre Nagy annouced on November 1 the abrogation of the Warsaw Treaty by his government and Hungary's neutrality.

"Constitutionally Imre Hagy had no authority to take this decision," establishes the Budapest paper. "The abrogation of the treaty required the approval of at least the Presidential Council, and better still of the National Assembly." The Americans of course hurried to welcome this development. As the "what-next" it was no more Imre Nagy but rather Mindszenty who came into the forefront. This is borne out also by President Eisenhower's memoirs.

On November 1, Radio Free Europe broadcast its first commentary whose central ides was 'Build up Mindszenty.' The prince-primate sentenced for conspiration had been released by the counterrevolutionaries from house arrest and brought to Budapest. "Capitalist restoration required a firm person who would not waver. It was another question -- and this was not deliberated over in Washington -- that the diehard cardinal who had always lacked sense of realism, had in the course of years got further detached from social realities. This explains why in his radio speech of November 3, he struck a wrong note on decisive questions." It went to the extent that his demand for the return of the church institutions made it clear for everybody that he wanted back the estates formerly held by the church, in other words, he wanted to undo the land reform. "The primate succeeded in convincing peasants, cooperative members and individual farmers that if the political developments continue as they were doing, nothing good would come out for them." No call could persuade the peasantry to line up with the counterrevolution.

The reorganization of the post-1945 coalition parties received a considerable boost, goes on NEPSZABASAG. "The emergence of parties indicated that the rightists, who had then run out their time and receded into the background, not only grabbed initiative, but their first and foremost aim was to settle the score with the leftists, with their former partymen who were cooperating with the socialist system. The rightists set down to vilify and hurl gross insults at them. One just could not think of the pluralism of views -- as it is understood today -- in these parties. Moderate views were cursed and vengeance and fanaticism came to top."

This was the situation also in the Social Democratic Party. "The rightists, the opponents of coalition who had initiated the reorganization of the Social Democratic Party, questioned ab initio the survival of the Hungarian Party of Workers (or the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party). But,as the events before and after November 4 witness, here too they were confronted by their leftist, former fellow partymen the majority of whom took stand against the revisionists and remained loyal to socialist ideology, to the people's power and its achievements."

Naturally, it is not only the former coalition parties that emerged anew. "The dynamics of capitalist (and fascist) restoration that surpasses every imagination" is characterized by that within a few days of the counterrevolution as many as 70 different parties and organizations like the Party of Hungarian Life or the Cross-Arrow Party. On November 2, French daily POPULAIRE wrote, "A new Horthyism may be reborn in Hungary."

Imre Nagy reshuffled his government on November 3. "Obviously with this reformation he sought to prove his willingness for return to a multi-party system," points out NEPSZABADSAG. By appointing the party bourgeois and bourgeois politicians like Anna Kethly, "Nagy and his group indicated that within the state leadership there was no more obstacle to transforming the political system. It is highly revealing of the utterly cynic manipulation that the ministerial list carried Janos Kadar's name, too, who had by now left the capital besieged by the counterrevolutionaries and therefore he could not even be asked whether he wanted to join this government."

Thereafter the article points out:

"A tragic role in the political landslide was played also by creative intellectuals, writers, artists, journalists who during 1955 had supported the revisionists. They cherished the illusion of 'the revolution's purity' even when innocent people were killed. They took up fight with the arbitrariness rampant at the time of the Rakosi group when the country was in the grip of white terror. Some of the journalists sought to win back the public faith with lies. For instance, they declared that whatever they had said earlier was false... Indeed these were tragic offences, because the majority of the persons perpetrating these did not want what they were so enthusiastically assisting."

But there were others who declared: socialism must be defended. "Surprising as it was for many, it was Laszlo Nemeth -- who had observed the country from sort of domestic emigration -- who raised voice in this spirit. He warned against the loss of socialist achievements (land reform, nationaliztion). He cautioned against the restoration of bourgeois democracy and capitalism."

Thereafter the article goes on to discuss the number of the victims claimed by the counterrevolutionary events. One of the reasons for such reference is to set right "those absurg figures which are spread to date by hostile propaganda and which put the number of dead at several thousand." In reality during these weeks, 2,502 deaths were registered throughout the country, out of these 1,945 were reported from Budapest and 537 from the provinces...

Finally the seventh part of the series points out:

"On the night of November 1, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Ferenc Munnich accompanied by others, left Budapest.

They were the people who made the final break with the Nagy group and formed the revolutionary worker-peasant government which, in view of the danger threatening the People's Republic and the country's sovereignty, asked for armed help from the Government of the Soviet Union." This is how with the help of the quickly organized Hungarian armed forces success was reached in shattering the counter-revolutionary gangs. "This put an end to the danger of a prolonged, bloody civil war as well as to the spectre that Hungary become the site and victim of a world-wide catastrophe."

"In fact the last action of Imre Nagy as the head of government evoked the above-mentioned danger: In his radio speech of November 4 he demanded intervention by the so-called UN troops which, according to the practice at that time -- as exemplified by the Korean war -- would have meant intervention by the American forces. The treacherous path of Imre Nagy ended with that. The path of uplift opened up again before the Hungarian people -- though after painful losses and heavily costing experiences, but with incomparably greater certainty."

GASPAR MEETS WITH CUBAN TU OFFICIAL IN HAVANA

LD021152 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Havana, 1 Oct (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) and president of the World Federation of Trade Unions, began discussions on Thursday with Roberto Viega, general secretary of the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), about tasks before their organizations and the WFTU as well as about preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress scheduled to be held in Cuba in 1982.

The Hungarian trade union leader, who is currently in the Caribbean country on an official visit at the head of a delegation, made a 3-day tour of the Cuban provinces.

Meets With Castro

LD041920 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Fidel Castro has received in Havana Sandor Gaspar, president of the WFTU and secretary general of the National Trade Union Council. During their discussion they talked about topical questions of international politics. They referred to the responsibility which lies with the trade union movement with regard to the preservation of international peace and security. At the meeting they also talked of the preparations for the 10th Trade Union World Congress which will convene in Havana next February. Sandor Gaspar is in the Cuban capital at the head of a trade union delegation.

CSSR OFFICIALS ATTEND 'BABOLNA DAYS' EVENTS

LD021146 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 1 Oct (MTI) -- The "Babolna Days" commenced in West Hungarian Komarom County on Thursday. Nearly 15,000 persons have come from various parts of the country to attend the series of events. Many have come from the neighboring countries too . A delegation consisting of party and state leaders headed by Jozef Lenart, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, has arrived from Czechoslovakia. The delegation also includes Peter Colotka, chairman of the Slovak Council of Ministers. This year the Babolna industrial system is being used to grow maize on over 12,000 hectares in Slovakia. This territory is to be expanded next year.

Arable land shows opened in the afternoon with the latest farm implements demonstrated during operation. The full utilization of maize plant, economical feeding of pigs and the production of grain and cob fodder mix will be displayed.

TU DRAFT PROGRAM RESOLUTION REPORTED 1 OCT

LD020932 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Oct (PAP) -- Today, the sixth day of the Solidarity congress under way in Gdansk, the delegates continued the discussion on its programme, raising the issue of how to overcome the economic crisis and what role the union should assume in the process.

The final accent of the day was the presentation of the candidates for the chairman of the union. The following run for the post: Andrzej Gwiazda, Marian Jurczyk, Jan Rulewski and Lech Walesa. Each of them presented his own programme and answered numerous questions.

First, representatives of the teams which prepared this part of the draft programme resolution presented different variants of solutions in the sphere of the economic policy and a programme of ad hoc measures. They presented the issues on which there have been differences of opinion.

The union proclaims itself in favour of the self-management variant of the economic reform. It is necessary to do away with the centralized system, separate the bodies of economic administration from political authorities, create conditions for independent activity of enterprises and remove barriers which thwart the operation of normal market laws. It is suggested that a social council of national economy be set up at the Sejm in order to consolidate social supervision over the economy. According to Solidarity, self-management assemblies should be set up at People's Councils, and a socio-economic assembly, at the Sejm.

A restoration of market equilibrium is the number one task. The main controversy in the discussion that followed was how to do it: gradually or radically.

One of the delegates who supported a gradual restoration of market equilibrium and opposed a high price raise in a single coup was Ryszard Bugaj (Mazowsze region). Advocates of this solution propose that the rationing of some goods be temporarily maintained.

The draft programme recognizes arresting the decline of production to be an essential task from the viewpoint of the protection of the working population's living standards. Investment outlays should be reduced to the indispensable minimum and the saved materials should be allocated to manufacturing in the existing factories. The production of coal should be given top priority, Solidarity proposed.

The delegates also discussed a programme of the so-called conversion of the economy advocated by Stefan Kurowski, among others. The key ideas are to direct straight to production the potential freed from investment ventures, shift production means from socialized to private agriculture and shift the idle production means from the state sector to the private sector (other than farming). This programme also envisages a deferment of the repayment of our debt abroad and Poland's joining in the International Monetary Fund.

A number of other proposals were put forth during the discussion. Bogdan Lis of Gdansk demanded a realistic programme. He also criticized the proposal of welfare guarantees for the temporarily unemployed, saying that the union should not agree to any unemployment.

Andrzej Rozplochowski of the southern Silesian-Dabrowa region suggested that the production potential be shifted from raw materials and semi-products to more sophisticated processing.

Many delegates examined the possibilities of employing various methods for the stimulation of production, especially men's initiative and enterprise.

Kazimierz Helebrand of Lower Silesia said the reform should release those factors. It should provide for profitability of hard work. People should be encouraged by means of financial stimuli and the system of management should be democratized, he said.

One chapter of the draft programme deals with the social policy. It is suggested that family allowances be rendered uniform, the child-care leave be extended and the network of kindergartens and creches be enhanced.

The protection of health and the nation's biological existence is an important element of the union's social policy. The priority tasks are the protection of motherhood, the health of the mother, the child and young people in general, the draft reads. The union also pledges to take steps aimed at improving work safety.

Grzegorz Kamrowski of Western Pomerania said Solidarity should aim to protect those people whose living standards are particularly susceptible to be affected by the crisis. He suggested the union appoint special standing commissions for social policy.

Another group of subjects of the debate were the issues of education, national culture and science. The union will request that appropriate laws on national education, university education, science, the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the press be elaborated, the draft pledges.

Franciszek Luczko of Western Pomerania appealed to the union to support the government stance on transferring General Sikorski's ashes to the Wawel Castle.

REPORTAGE ON 2 OCT SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SESSION

Report on Election Speeches

LD021028 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 0545 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Good morning ladies and gentlemen! Yesterday we had a veritable congress marathon. The debate started at 0900 and ended today after 0100. This was because of the presentation of the four candidates for the post of NSZZ Solidarity chairman. As I have reported earlier, they are: Andrzej Gwiazda, Marian Jurczyk, Jan Rulewski and Lech Walesa.

But before the election program started at 0900 the lists of candidates for the union's authorities were read out. This is for the National Audit Commission and the National Commission, previously called the National Coordinating Commission. For the Audit Commission, there are three delegates from Wielkopolska including the present chairman, Jerzy Nowak. For the three seats available to Wielkopolska on the National Commission there are nine candidates, or three for each seat.

After this, the candidates for chairman made their speeches. What were the ground rules? First of all, there was a draw for the order of appearance. Next each candidate had 10 minutes to present his election program. [Passage indistinct] answered the questions put by delegates, prepared in advance and placed in urns. These were drawn and read out. [Passage indistinct] with hundreds of his electors. I shall try to characterize in a few sentences the individual programs and quote the more interesting questions and answers.

The program was started by Marian Jurczyk who advocated a tough and determined line. He stated that he did not regard himself as a radical, as he is often called, but only as a consistent man.

I am not for dictatorship, said Jurczyk, but for conscious discipline. I cannot imagine that the chairman would make essential decisions alone or in a small group. Its is imperative to consult the lowest echelon of the union.

Furthermore, he declared himself in support of territorial and workers' self-management. Poland is not a poor country, he said, only badly governed. In addition the economy is run in a wasteful manner.

During the question time, he described the National Consultative Commission statement on self-management as an inexcusable error. In addition he admitted that he was not, is not and will not become a politician. Asked whether his lack of activity during the congress is a result of tactics or a sign of modesty, he admitted that the Szczecin delegates had already prepared before hand who was going to talk about what.

I was amused by one of the Cigielski delegates who asked Marian Jurczyk about his hobby. Yes, about a hobby!

The next to present himself was Andrzej Gwiazda who accused the authorities of a direct attack on Solidarity. Under the impact of this attack the union stepped back, said Gwiazda, nearly to the positions of a year ago. An instance of this is the access to radio and television. Last November there was a discussion whether the union will get 1 or 2 hours per week. Today even this is out of the question.

He admitted that one had to reach a compromise with the authorities. I am the author of the majority of union compromises, he stated, but not a single capitulation.

He contended that only 25 percent of the budget goes for consumption while as much as 75 percent goes for the maintenance of the state and its institutions as well as investment. In other words, we work only 2 hours for ourselves and 6 for the state.

We must reflect, said Gwiazda, what we are working for [word indistinct] hours. Asked whether he was a supporter of a new social agreement, he answered that first it was necessary to implement the old agreements and only then sign new ones, especially as signatures alone mean nothing. Asked why he put his name down for chairman he said: Because the union's statute allows it. [Passage indistinct] he said: How many can I see? The problem is that if the worker is not in overalls I cannot tell.

Then the time came for Lech Walesa to speak. The present chairman began by saying that the struggle has only just begun and that Solidarity was underestimating its partner; that it believed too much in itself. Walesa expected that many issues will be finally clarified by the drafting of a program, voting on it and then publishing it.

If we put our signatures to the program, he said, it will be in order to enforce this program. We must fight for the consolidation of three democratic structures: Solidarity; the workers self-management and later, also territorial ones and the Sejm; and finally the party. We do not talk enough to one another, he continued. Let us seek simple, workers' paths. They are within the range of our efforts. In addition let us remember that about politics one does not talk, one implements them. I believe in the wisdom of men, he concluded.

When asked questions, he gave many characteristic, spectacular answers full of mental abbreviations. Here are some examples: How would he start a conversation if he sat at the table with Premier Jaruzelski? The answer: With the question, whether we were going to talk as one Pole to another.

How did he explain the attack against the intelligentsia at the congress? This is a misunderstanding. The [word indistinct] and workers' trades end when we meet as Solidarity activists. He caused quite a sensation with his answer to the question what he would do if he lost? I shall withdraw from union work, he said. I have worked hard enough through this year. I am replaceable. In addition I believe that you will not allow yourselves to be cheated. You will control well the elected authorities. Otherwise I shall start making money. I will write a book. I will give autographs in books written about me in the West.

The last of the candidates was Jan Rulewski. In his speech he stressed that he saw the need for the signing of a new social agreement which would also encompass the election laws for the Sejm and the People's Council; the achievement of stabilization and economic order; and finally, a determination of the principles governing the filling of posts in the administrative apparatus below the Sejm's terms of reference.

Rulewski contended that the union has lost its impetus because the paths linking it with primary echelons of Solidarity had become blocked. He said that an error in the work of the union was the genuine or imaginary fear of Soviet intervention.

This was hampering the union. He insisted that the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be included in the statute. Its first thesis refers to the voluntary nature of the affiliation to political systems and military blocs.

He advocated control over the state budget; asking: How much of the budget goes for domestic needs of the people and how much for armaments? If we decide to have self-management we must regard the enterprises as our own farms, the way a farmer would.

Here are some examples of questions put to Jan Rulewski:

Don't you partially suffer from a persecution complex? I still feel fairly secure in this country, he replied.

What is most important for the world -- the country? Solidarity? He answered: World peace and the restoration of democracy is important for the country, as well as the inclusion of Poland into the broad current of European culture and our participation in the world division of labor. Solidarity is for all of this.

After these half-hour presentations the candidates were supposed to ask each other questions. But they were so tired that this part of the program in the election campaign completely flopped. After a few minutes of irrevelant questions, the presentation of candidates ended.

Today the election of the chairman of NSZZ Solidarity is scheduled along with the continuation of the debate on the third group of problems under the heading: "The Union and Public Life." Another marathon is expected. In the evening the presentation of candidates for the National Audit Commission and the National Commission is expected. This involves some 200 persons and we know already that the congress must end on Sunday.

KKP Chairman Election Results

LD022036 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The election has taken place at Solidarity's congress in Gdansk for the chairman of the union. Lech Walesa is the chairman. Andrzej Gwiazda, Marian Jurczyk and Jan Rulewski were candidates, too. Here is an account given by reports in Gdansk: [Passage indistinct] Well, at 1815 the results began to be made public. These were the results of a protocol compiled by the Credentials Commission. Here are the results of the first round of voting: 844 votes have been cast; 837 were valid; 48 people abstained. The voting, in alphabetical order, was as follows: Andrzej Gwiazda, 74 votes -- 8.84 percent; Marian Jurczyk, 201 votes -- 24 percent; Jan Rulewski, 52 votes -- 6.21 percent; Lech Walesa, 462 votes -- approximately 55 percent. Thus Lech Walesa received more than 50 percent of the votes, which made it possible for him to gain, during the first round of voting, the position of chairman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] and to become head of NSZZ Solidarity.

Prior to the elections, each candidate replied last night to questions which had earlier been placed in the ballot boxes by the delegates. PAP reporters have reported some characteristic statements made by the candidates.

Marian Jurczyk stated, among other things: KKP's Presidium compromise decision on workers' self-management is a great and unforgetable error. What is at stake here is not even the cause, but the principle. One cannot in this way make light of the union's congress and society at large. I am not a politician. I have not been one, nor do I wish to become one. I am neither a radical, nor a moderate. I am a consistent man, said Marian Jurczyk. Appriasing the 30 March Warsaw agreement Marian Jurczyk said that had he been present in a courthouse and had a sentence of death been passed on him, he would not have been so surprised as he was when he heard the results of these elections, I mean these talks. [as heard]

Walesa did a great deal, he said further, and I am very grateful to him for this. He is a man who is on the ball and quick on the uptake. The fact that he drags out matters which can be solved forthwith constitutes a negative aspect of his character. I would deal with them quicker. The formula about the party's leading role, to be found in the union's statute, is not something I object to, stated Marian Jurczyk, for it is just words.

Here are quotes from what Andrzej Gwiazda said: Way back in Gdansk we stated that we would not make differentiations with regard to one's views. The union should continue to cooperate with the church, an organization with enormous experience, and all the more so because the majority of Solidarity members are believers. In 1976 the party spat in the face of the workers in Radom and Ursus and of all workers in Poland, stated Andrzej Gwiazda. Only 22 people washed the spittle off their mouths by setting up the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] thus washing off the shame. The rest were sitting quietly. It is this that, in my view, justified the need for continued cooperation with former KOR members, said Andrzej Gwiazda further. The concept of radicalism was imposed on us by unsympathetic propaganda. It became a stock phrase without any oppostion. I am of the opinion that this division is artificial. I believe that one has to be consistent and think before posing tasks. Should a state of emergency be declared, said Andrzej Gwiazda, I see two ways out: a general sit-in strike or else we do nothing, we go to work as if nothing had happened. We would not have implemented the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements, since the union did not support us. [as heard]. The KKP can only send memoranda and protests. A year of our activities has shown that the authorities yield only to pressure and it is necessary to draw conclusions from these experiences. These were the words of Andrzej Gwiazda.

Here are excerpts from Lech Walesa's statement: When I sit to talk with Premier Jaruzelski, my first question will be: Will we talk today like a Pole talks to a Pole? When my potential as a candidate has been exhausted I will go away and will be happy about it. Our problems for today are: food supplies, heating and getting rid of waiting lines. The union should do everything it can to lessen the lot of people who stand in mile-long lines. During the elections I will not be voting for anyone. It is a fact that I shouted to Gierek: "We will help you!" I got taken for a ride then, but once bitten twice shy. That is why I have so little faith today. I am of the opinion that the essence of radicalism is a radical striving for victory and not just talking and talking. If I do not become chairman I will leave the union arena altogether. Replying to a question about the KOR, Walesa stated: For at least 2 years we must stick together for we are faced with an intense struggle. Then, there will be room in Poland for everyone. For sure, I will not suggest Jan Rulewski as a candidate for deputy chairman. We will not work with Jan Rulewski anymore. I have my own reasons for that.

Speaking of partnership between the PZPR and Solidarity, Lech Walesa appealed not to marry the cat to the dog. However, it would not be good, he stressed, if we were the only force in this country, a force creating a totalitarian system, one worse than the present one. In a few years' time the union will not be able to have the same shape as it does at the moment, for that would be dangerous for democracy and for the country. Then I myself will divide it up into 10 or 15 unions, said Lech Walesa.

And here are some excerpts from a statement by Jan Rulewski: I see the need for a social agreement which would contain an obligation on the authorities to change the electoral regulations, a plan for arriving at economic stabilization, a procedure for control over the militia and the security service, and for agreement in the matter of education and the staffing of the administrative apparatus. The union should concentrate its efforts on forcibly gaining [wywalczyc] a proper form for the law on trade unions, and should forcibly gain the right to legislative initiative. Jan Rulewski critically assessed the compromise decision of the KKP Presidium in the matter of self-management. He stated that he has nothing against Lech Walesa except for his own electoral program, which he considers to be more consistent. [as heard]

Rulewski Congratulates Walesa

NC021820 Paris AFP in English 1815 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, northern Poland, 2 Oct (AFP) -- Addressing the Solidarity delegates after a round of vigorous applause, Mr Walesa said, "I believe that reason will win out and that we will conquer peacefully. The struggle will be difficult, but we must remain united."

Bydgoszcz Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski, considered a union radical, warmly congratulated "Leszek" on his re-election.

Mr Rulewski, who yesterday spoke out to condemn "Soviet imperialism" said that he had not expected to win the election when he stood as a challenger to Lech Walesa, but had run in order to "show the world" that there were still people within Solidarity who had "strong opinions."

Walesa Thanks Delegates

LD022236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Lech Walesa won today's election for the post of chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity. He received 462 out of 837 valid votes.

Thanking the delegates for choosing him, Lech Walesa expressed the conviction that their decision had been due more to the results of work done so far than to the 10-minute presentation speech. Lech Walesa admitted that all grievances about him in his capacity as chairman so far, and all grievances about the whole KKP [National Consultative Commission] Presidium, had been justified. However, during that period the union had been learning democracy and how to act.

Lech Walesa promised that he would go forward with all union members along the path mapped out by the congress, as has been the case so far. At the same time, he would not be striving toward (?sectarianism). I think that reason will gain the upper hand, and that we shall win the struggle we have embarked upon in a peaceful way, he stated.

Walesa Postelection Remarks

LD030600 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The chairman of Solidarity for the next 2 years will be Lech Walesa, who received 462 out of 837 valid votes.

Three of the candidates for the post of chairman of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] -- Andrezej Gwiazda was not present -- met with journalists accredited to the congress. Here are some of the things that the new chairman said:

I think that for a long time now, I will not make a [word indistinct] away from what the working people think. I think that yesterday I settled the matter well, because I did not come out well in the speech. I wanted to see whether I am appreciated for what I do or for what I say.

Lech Walesa said that he sees the health services, education and the improvement of the lot of people standing in mile-long lines as among the most urgent matters the union will deal with. For union authorities, he will select people who will see to the subjects undertaken by the union. It will be necessary to change some of them, he said. They were good for the struggle, but now they should rest.

In Poland I see three elements which do not fight together, but which jointly lift the country from the crisis: the party-state apparatus, self-management and the trade unions. When one of these elements drops out, democracy is weakened.

Lech Walesa went on to say: Recently, I have not spoken to people enough; perhaps I committed organizational errors, but I have not had enough time. However, I was never in any sect; I tried to be myself. Sects always disrupt one another.

The chairman of the KKP also said: If I had not won the first round of the elections, I would not have taken up the struggle in the second round. I would have regarded this as a vote of no confidence.

Walesa on Future Plans for TU

LD031038 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 0545 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpt] (?I will try) to give an extensive report, this time I will (?not) [word indistinct] a short commentary. So, because the point of view in the country and at the congress is somewhat different, I would like to explain the relatively small number of votes for Walesa. It is not some kind of [words indistinct]; it is a result of his inflexible position during last year's strike and also of his peculiar inbred talent (?as a people's tribune), [words indistinct]. But that has rather too little for the congress, for delegates, who [word indistinct] on a program and are looking for a chairman who would suit that program best. Hence the dogmatic, rather dictatorial way of leading; the unjustified breaking of congress resolutions by segments of that congress, and I am thinking about the National Coordinting Commission statement on the issue of self-management; all this made many delegates, looking for a truly democratic model for the union, withhold their support of Walesa.

It is probably for that reason that Marian Jurczyk got as many votes as he did. I think, simply, that those were votes against Walesa. The two remaining candidates got probably as many votes as they have supporters. So much for the elections themselves.

An hour after the result was announced, a press conference was held among the rivals for the post of chairman. Only Andrzej Gwiazda did not attend; at that time, he was due to speak in the plenary program discussion. The first question and the first answer already showed the full relaxation after the pre-election tension. A TRYBUNA LUDU journalist asked how Lech Walesa wanted to exert an influence on the substance of the program resolution so as to make it compatible with his program. Walesa answered that after the elections he is in a good position and he will simply be manipulating. This was, of course, greeted with warm applause and laughter. But there then followed serious answers.

The newly-elected chairman said that he might have more time now for contacts with workforces. He would be listening to what the workforces were saying and, on the most important matters and decisions, he will go to them directly. In the new National Commission, there must be experts in many spheres of life. There will be a lot of reshuffling. Up to now, there has been a struggle to (?build) the union. Those who were suitable for that job are not fulfilling the tasks now. There will be less struggle in battle array and more calm, but hard work.

Will Walesa be making individual decisions? Yes, even in spite of the majority, if he is convinced that it is for the good of the union. One of the accusations against Rulewski was that he said aloud what is, so to speak, written in the depths of the soul of every Pole. But Walesa immediately retorted that policy is not declared, policy is made. Do you think, Jan [Rulewski] that I am less brave than you are, he asked.

A Western journalist who did not know Jurczyk asked where he had got such popularity from and once again Walesa answered instead of the person asked: "From Mr Rakowski." When Jurczyk and Rulewski were asked if they would help Walesa, they answered yes.

Rulewski stressed that his influence on Walesa could be seen already, because he was getting harder; besides, he, (Rulewski), would be conducting the entire negotiations on food and prices. Jurczyk replied that it is of no significance to him whether the boss is Walesa, X or Y. The final goal is solidarity.

To a question of when Walesa had last spoken to Deputy Premier Rakowski, he said that their last conversation had ended with the following exchange: Well, may God go with you, good journey: To the glory of the homeland. And then Rulewski added: The deputy premier is at present on strike -- he doesn't want to talk to Solidarity.

At the end, the newly-elected chairman said: This is my strategy. Let life (?present) us problems and everyday solutions. I take what is being offered and at the same time I demand more. And that is all.

Biography of Lech Walesa

LD031034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] To mark the reelection of Lech Walesa as chairman, it is probably worth recalling some biographical details about him.

He was born into a peasant family on 29 September 1943 in the village of Popowo near Lipno. His father hired himself out for additional work, most often as a carpenter. Lech Walesa had six brothers and sisters. After finishing technical school, he worked in the state agricultural machinery center in Lochow as an electrical mechanic; and in the years 1963-65 he did his national service.

Two years later he moved to the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk. In December 1970 he was a member of the strike committee there. Arrested and then released, he returned to work in the shipyard. Six years later in 1976 he took part in a short strike and lost his job. After several months he was employed as an electrician in a building repair and construction plant. Walesa was an active member of the committee of the coastal free trade union. Arrested and having lost his third job, he found employment in ELEKTROMONTAZ, from which he was made redundant in February 1979. During the strike at the Lenin Shipyard in August, he obtained entrance to the yard's premises and led the striking shipyard workers. His fate from that date is common knowledge.

Lech Walesa has four sons and two daughters.

Warsaw TV Profiles Walesa

LD032008 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Lech Walesa, 38 years old; profession, wireman; he has a wife, six children and a walrus moustache.

A year ago he was little known; since August he is one of the most popular people in the country.

He was carried onto the high ladder of his career by the masses to whom he can always speak briefly, succinctly and in a language that everyone understands. A stubborn man, quite a controversial figure, a man with views which are at times difficult to accept, he chairs a union which sought, and still seeks, sometimes simply losing its way, its place in the social life of the country. Understanding workers well and feeling most at ease among them he nonetheless often allows himself to be led astray by extremists, bad advisers and various radicals for whom socialism is an empty word and historic alliances a paper slogan. It is they who are responsible for the fact that the union departed from its statute assumptions and that its leadership wanted to build its authority exclusively on the basis of the criticism of socialism, the party, the government and of negating everything that we have managed to build with joint efforts since the war. He dodged among hawks, now losing will, nor regaining it. He was helped, however, by a healthy worker movement in Solidarity which counted on him seeing the union as a defencer of rights and professional privileges. He won the appreciation of this movement, even though only just over 50 percent of delegates voted for him at the congress. After his reflection, he said that he supports partnerlike cooperation with all political and social forces, that there should be no intraunion squabble, that it is necessary to fight together for a better Poland.

We must trust that he spoke sincerely and that people with whom he will have to lead Solidarity will hold a similar view.

Congress May Conclude 5 Oct

LD022153 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (PAP) -- Discussion on socio-economic relations in Poland was continued in Gdansk today, this being the seventh day of Solidarity congress deliberations. The first speaker was Tadeusz Arendt, Solidarity chairman from the Szczyglowice colliery.

Preliminary indications are that the congress may conclude deliberations by Monday night provided progress remains unchanged.

Solidarity Economic Proposal

LD030630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Press review]

[Text] Although the elections were the most important event in yesterday's debates, the Solidarity congress also held a discussion of their program.

Radom delegate, Jacek Jez, presented a concept for emerging from the crisis. The concept was authored by an economic group directed by Leszek Moczulski from the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN].

We read in TRYBUNA LUDU that, amidst applause from part of the hall, the delegate from Radom proposed that the draft be included in the congress documents. It envisages a far reaching economic and political reform, in the spirit of the known concepts of the KPN, and gives a guarantee of emerging from the crisis within 15 months. The proposal opens the way for implementation of Stefan Kuroski's ideas and, as the speaker stated, can be carried out even in conditions where power in Poland is still fulfilled by the PZPR.

After the delegates' speeches on economic subjects, the experts expressed their views. Ryszard Bugaj sharply criticized Stefan Kurowski's theses and the KPN's economic program. He said that the calculations regarding agriculture, based on the optimistic assumptions, are illusory. "I shall not fulfill the function of an expert," Ryszard Bugaj went on to say, "who says what is expected of me."

Later in his speech, the Solidarity adviser said that if Solidarity succeeds in reaching an agreement with the government, it will be a concrete and sensible action. If not, then it may happen that the union itself will reject (?such a) program.

PAP Reports Proceedings

LD030908 Warsaw PAP in English 0821 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Oct (PAP) -- The reelection of Lech Walesa as Solidarity leader was the highlight of the seventh day of Solidarity congress in Gdansk. He received 462 votes of the 837 valid votes cast. The other candidates received: Marian Jurczyk -- 201, Andrzej Gwiazda -- 74 and Jan Rulewski -- 52.

The main questions which the delegates tried to answer during the morning session were whether the union should have an alternative economic programme toward the government project, what methods should the union use to implement its programme, how to overcome the economic crisis and how to distribute and minimalize the indispensable social costs. The differences of opinion on all the matters were significant, sometimes relating to the basic approach to problems. Most speakers criticized the draft programme prepared by tasks groups. Some delegates questioned the need for Solidarity to have its own economic programme. Most speakers argued that the programme was couched in too general terms and the proposals lacked precision. This is what delegate Zbigniew Karowski said about the programme. He wanted the programme to be more innovative and propose far-reaching solutions. In his view the draft in its present form differs little from the government programme which it treats too leniently.

Referring to the document on conversion prepared by Solidarity expert Professor Stefan Kurowski, another Solidarity expert Dr Ryszard Bugaj generally agreed with the idea but argued that the problem as presented by Kurowski might create dangerous illusions and dampen interest in other realistic actions.

Another expert, Professor Witold Trzecikowski, referring to anti-export tendencies manifest in Solidarity, warned that this will put the union in a bad light abroad.

Jacek Jez from Radom presented the plan of economic stabilization drafted by the Confederation of Independent Poland KPN. The draft provides for full socialization of industry. According to the plan enterprises would operate solely at their own risk on the basis of self-governance. The whole economy should be subject to social control. Retail trade and services, according to the plan, should be in private hands. Privately owned farms should form the basis of Polish agriculture.

The social costs of overcoming the crisis provoke the most heated discussion. Dr Ryszard Bugaj postulated that the brunt of the operation be borne by the highest income earners through imposition of high prices on luxury goods, alcohol and petrol. Waclaw Adamczak disagreed with the speaker and said that such high price increases would be a selective blow dealt to a group unable to defend itself and its effects would be insignificant. The cost of the operation should be borne by the whole society, he suggested.

With regard to the price reforms speakers differed in their opinions. Generally speaking conceptions calling for speedy, high and radical increases clashed with opinions demanding that the operation be carried out by stages.

Today's deliberations of the Solidarity congress closed at the Gdansk Oliwia Hall tonight. Throughout the afternoon and night session discussion concentrated on the theme: the union and public life. Many proposals tabled by delegates concerned the union's attitude toward the PUWP, access to mass media, and actions towards strengthening the observance of law in the country.

The congress approved two resolutions: concerning control, purchase and distribution by the union of printing equipment, and a resolution on the union's publishing policy.

More on 2 Oct Proceedings

LD031132 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpts] A program discussion was held yesterday at the Solidarity congress. In the afternoon there was discussion on the third point in the union's program: the union and public life. Several issues important for Solidarity were presented, concerning changes in the legal system, guarantees of the independence of the judiciary, [word indistinct] repressions. It was proposed that the committee for the defense of those imprisoned for their convictions be recognized as a union department.

On the issue of the mass media, it was stated that they must have guaranteed freedom of the printed and written word, serve society and be controlled by it. There must be a break, it was stated, in the monopoly of the authorities on information. The right to create news agencies and radio and television stations must be achieved.

The evening session was dominated by discussion on attitudes toward the PZPR and on access to the mass media. Kazimierz Switon from Katowice demanded party pluralism and Solidarity support for an opposition party.

3 OCT SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS REPORTED

Congress Agenda Previewed

LD031028 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Today, on the 8th day of the deliberations of the NSZZ Solidarity delegates, the discussion will focus on the third subject group entitled: The Union and Public Life. The presentation of more than 150 candidates for members of the National Commission will also begin. Because all delegates are limited to a speech of several minutes, this presentation will probably overrun into the next day. The largest number of candidates has been submitted by two regions: Mazowsze and Slask-Dabrowa. A reading of the next draft resolutions has been announced by the Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations. The most important concerns worker self-management.

Congress Extended to 6 Oct

LD031312 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] The NSZZ Solidarity congress in Gdansk is into its eighth day. Today matters under the heading "The Union and Political Life" are being discussed. One of the main currents in the discussion is the union's attitude to the authorities, to political and social organizations, and to matters of culture, education and science. The delegates accepted a method for presenting candidates for the national authorities. It was agreed that each candidate to the National Commission and the Audit Commission will be given 2 minutes to present his program. This means that the procedure for the presentation to the delegates will probably take up the whole (?day). In view of this situation, the congress Presidium has now decided that the session will last at least another 4 days, that is, until Tuesday.

Commission Candidates Presented

LD031918 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Programmatic discussion on the subject of the union and public life is continuing at the Solidarity congress in Gdansk.

The union's attitude toward the authorities of political and social organizations in being discussed as well as issues of culture, education and science. Candidacies to the National and Auditing Commissions are also being submitted. Each candidate has 2 minutes at his disposal to discuss his program. The election of the Auditing Commission began in the afternoon. The commission will comprise 21 persons. Sixty delegates are standing as candidates. Jan Kulaj, chairman of Solidarity of Private Farmers, commenting upon the discussion, stated that cooperation ought to constitute one of the main theses of the program of the two trade union organizations.

According to the Presidium of the congress, the deliberations will go on at least until Tuesday.

Auditing Commission Candidates

LD040056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Jan Kulaj, chairman of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers, made a speech at today's session of the Solidarity congress. He proposed that the congress elect a special commission to coordinate with the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers.

The candidates for the National Auditing Commission were asked what stance they would take in the event of a dispute with the National Commission or with the chairman of the union. Most of the candidates replied that they would not compromise. They stated that the resolutions of the congress would remain their most important guidelines.

In the final phase of the discussion controversy arose around the stance of the union's officials and of some of its activists on the rise in the prices of cigarettes and matches announced by the government. Some activists were accused of failing to be resolute and consistent in defending the interests of the workers. Many proposals were submitted concerning the attitude the union is to adopt towards the rise in prices for articles in everyday use and suggesting that Solidarity explain the position if need be.

The delegates and the invited guests honored the memory of Prof Tadeusz Kotarbinski, who died yesterday, with a minute of silence.

Discussion of Congress

LD032006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Today was the eighth day of the second round of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk. The program discussion was continued in the morning: the subject of the union's place in public life was discussed. Then 60 candidate members of the Auditing Commission were presented. Each had 2 minutes to present his program. In the afternoon, the election of commission's members began. According to the union statute it will number 21 people.

Over to Gdansk now, where Marek Szelewicki is waiting in the studio with his guests.

[Szelewicki] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Today I have asked journalists from the daily press to share with us their impressions of the Solidarity congress. They are accredited in the Oliwia Hall, where the debates are being held. I have asked editor Jerzy Bielecki from TRYBUNA LUDU and Edmund Pietrzak from GLOS WYBRZEZA to come to our studio. Hello, gentlemen. First question: The election of the union's chairman yesterday was probably one of the most important events. It is no surprise that Lech Walesa won, but suppositions made earlier that this would be known after the first round of voting did not come true. How do you assess this?

[Bielecki] It seems to me that this event is not just to do with the congress, but with the whole Solidarity trade union which has many millions of members. If this is the case, this must be regarded as a national event which surely has its international repercussions, or echoes. It certainly is the most important event of this congress. Lech Walesa has been elected chairman for 2 years. Was it unexpected? Personally, I must say that after this night round of elections on Thursday when four candidates outlined their programs -- let us recall their names, perhaps: Jurczyk, Gwiazda, Rulewski, apart from Walesa -- well, personally it seemed to me that the choice of Walesa was beyond all doubt. The other candidates -- all radicals of various hues -- did not, in my own, personal view -- it is my deep conviction -- have any chance of finding themselves at the head of the Solidarity trade union.

[Pietrzak] This is how it seems to me: As far as the choice of Walesa is concerned, I would take issue with the views just expressed. As far as my own personal opinion is concerned, I expected him to be chosen during the first round. Bets were placed on this. I said some 60 percent of the votes would be cast for Walesa during the first round. I will explain why I thought so: It seemed to me that Jurczyk was his only real opponent, since it is my opinion that the chairman of this union, at this stage, could not come from outside the coastal area.

[Szelewicki] Yes, this has proven to be the case [passage indistinct].

[Pietrzak] Twenty-four percent; but here I would disagree with editor Bielecki, who states that following the presentation of these four programs and after this night round, things became clear. Well, no. When one spoke to journalists, for instance foreign ones, they were afraid, and not just they, that because Walesa turned out rather weak during this presentation [Bielecki interposes here: "I agree"] and Jurczyk turned out excellently, all this created a climate of uncertainty -- will Walesa be chosen? One thing seemed certain to me: The choice of Walesa in the first round meant that a majority of this union's delegates are for the line of agreement -- this is how I regarded this.

[Szelewicki] Both of you, gentlemen, say that both foreign and domestic journalists were afraid that Walesa might not be chosen. So, are big hopes linked with the person of Walesa and him alone?

[Bielecki] It seems to me that editor Pietrzak overstated the case. He is a person who, in his program, came out in favor of the line of agreement. None of the remaining three candidates came out for this line of agreement.

[Szelewicki] Yes. It hardly matters that during the presentation Walesa came out as rather weak, that he did not speak in the manner to which all of us have become accustomed, the way he speaks at stadiums, addressing crowds and inspiring the masses. Later on at a press conference he said he had not prepared himself.

[Bielecki] When I said Walesa had clearly favored the line of agreement, I did not mean to say that all the remaining candidates failed to do so. Well, as far as Gwiazda is concerned, in my view he altogether failed to give a clear answer to this question in his speech. As far as the speech by Mr Jurczyk from Szczecin is concerned, I am of the opinion that he, too, came out in favor of the line of agreement, but understood it slightly differently from the way Walesa understands it.

[Pietrzak] Perhaps the fourth candidate is the one editor Bielecki referred to here. But we have to take another thing into consideration: It is universally felt that Walesa is a symbol of the line of agreement. Even if there were other candidates favoring this line, Walesa, as far as public awareness is concerned, is the number one Solidarity representative favoring this line.

[Szelewicki] This line was clearly outlined at a press conference following the moment when the election results were made public.

[Bielecki] I do not think so. For instance, the new chairman, replying to a question posed by a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist as to whether he would implement the program in the form in which the congress passed it, said: Of course, yes. In connection with this, after the program discussion at the congress and after perusing the drafts of the congress' program resolutions, we do not quite know just how many elements of agreement will be contained in this resolution and what it will lack. Personally, I express the view that it may lack very many elements.

[Szelewicki] Let us add that the program discussion is not yet over. It was, I think, in the morning today that the discussion was interrupted on the subject of the third chapter: the union and its place in public life. What have been the dominant views voiced from the congress rostrum so far?

[Pietrzak] It seems to me that they link up with a question I have not yet had the opportunity to speak about. Walesa favored the line of agreement during the press conference after his speech and after the election results were made public. He stated clearly: Those who want to overthrow the Sejm, the party and other institutions do not favor the line of agreement. Well, this is my interpretation. Walesa can see one thing very clearly indeed. In practice only a proportion of the (?party) leaders see it. The agreement must consist in this: Room must be found for genuine coexistence not just with the party, but also with all other organizations that represent the public. This is how Walesa presented this immediately following his election.

Harping back to your last question, it seems to me that the program discussion tends clearly in this direction: People in Poland must be united and not divided. Naturally, there are speeches suggesting people should sit on the fence. In my opinion, the unification trend is winning, that is to say, Poland is in such a difficult situation that the most important thing is to save Poland; everything else is of secondary consequence. In my opinion this trend is gaining the upper hand.

[Bielecki] I do not hold this view. I think that there are opinions of which editor Pietrzak has been talking. But especially in this third trend of discussion pertaining to Solidarity and its place in the public life, very powerful opinions have been voiced, questioning the line of agreement. These opinions are clearly against the authorities, against the party and against alliances. Unfortunately -- and one has to admit this -- these opinions encounter not inconsiderable applause.

[Pietrzak] This is true -- forgive me for butting in -- yes, they do encounter applause, but when it comes to the voting, take note that those people among candidates for chairman who subscribed most to these views received an altogether minimal number of votes, one can say. Moreover -- I am sorry, please do not forget about this one -- delegates from Lower Silesia, a region that used to be considered very radical prior to the second round of the congress, made a turnabout of sorts. That's how I feel about it. What Karol Modzelewski said in his speech amounted to clear support for Walesa's line and, as is known, Karol Modzelewski does enjoy authority in the hall.

[Bielecki] That he enjoys authority in that hall -- this I agree with. However, I would really take issue with what has been said, that he presented theses that accord with the agreement line. After all, the difference revolves round matters of [word indistinct]. The programs of various groups deal, in essence, with two issues: Is it advisable to go full steam ahead, as Jan Rulewski suggests, since we are mentioning names; right? Or is it advisable to proceed slowly and clamly, but systematically and consistently, aiming to dismantle those institutions of society and the system that exist at the moment.

[Szelewicki] I think that it will be possible to define the program line clearly once the candidate members to the National Commission have been presented; this is supposed to take place tonight. But I have another question for you, gentlemen. Yesterday the Polish Television news bulletin and the local Gdansk program "Panorama" screened the film of the election results being made public. Today, the journalist who did this had his accreditation withdrawn. How do you assess the congress decision as journalists, gentlemen?

[Bielecki] As far as I remember, accreditation was withdrawn yesterday during the evening session. Personally, I think that if the Solidarity authorities have imposed a certain kind of censorship on radio and television accounts of their congress, if they have introduced what in my opinion is an undemocratic monopoly on congress information, then I think one ought to view the whole matter from this angle. I do not know how this journalist was found. I do not know how the television bulletin managed to get hold of this material. Therefore, I cannot pronounce opinions on this.

[Pietrzak] The congress of the delegates is the supreme union authority. It is within its right to do what it agreed to do beforehand. It is, therefore, a matter for the congress to grant accreditation, withdraw it and so on. This is how it looks from a formal viewpoint.

As far as another viewpoint is concerned, one which has to do with the merits of the case; well, I'd say this: In this one single case I'd give my support to colleague [Paczynski].

The whole of Poland awaited the news of who would be chosen as union chairman. Since in this case it was difficult to assume that television could manipulate anything -- which is what this congress is afraid of -- I therefore think that, in the final analysis, it was all harmless. However, the delegates are here bound by the formality: We have passed a resolution that has been violated.

[Szelewicki] I think that on this we may end our conversation today. I hope we will have you, gentlemen, as guests in the studio of Polish Radio tomorrow as well, which is when you will share with us your impressions of what promises to be the penultimate day of the congress. Since I am not accredited at the congress, I will be interested in this conversation all the more. Thank you.

Congress Challenges Worker Law

NC031920 Paris AFP in English 1859 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, north Poland, 3 Oct (AFP) -- Poland's Solidarity union at its national congress here today challenged a law on worker self-management approved only a week ago by the Polish parliament.

By a show of hands, a majority of union delegates (?passed) a motion describing that law as "flagrantly different from the union's position" and in fact "threatening self-management and the autonomy of enterprises and thus economic renewal."

While not rejecting the law "in its totality," the union announced the intention of conducting a referendum on that issue within Polish enterprises.

The Solidarity motion specified that the results of the referendum would be passed on to parliament, with Solidarity reserving the right to ask the deputies to modify the law so as that it would conform with the preferences expressed by the workers.

The congress indicated it was notably seeking to ensure a selection of enterprise managers outside of interference from the Communist Party and a limitation of those factories where the state retains the prerogative of naming managers to the arms industry and companies under the Finance and Justice Ministries.

Solidarity further opposes an article of the law safeguarding the government's right to impose production plans on enterprises, except in a few rare cases, and another article relative to the taxation of certain groups of companies.

The text adopted by the congress was much tougher than the theses earlier defended by the Solidarity leadership and its president, Lech Walesa.

It nevertheless appeared to avoid an open challenge to the government, since the referendum to be organized in enterprises is only to deal with a number of specific points and does not question the law as a whole. Also, the referendum results to be communicated to parliament are not meant, at least for the time being, to trigger any particular action pressing for a revision of the law.

All that the motion said in this respect was that the union "will take all appropriate measures" to defend self-management.

Attitude on Self-Management

LD032104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] The Solidarity congress in Gdansk has adopted one of the most important documents of the second round of the congress: the resolution specifying the attitude of the union to the laws concerning the self-management of workforces and state enterprises. The resolution says that the Sejm has renounced the compromise arrived at with the union authorities, among other things, with regard to the procedure governing the appointment of managing directors. The Sejm has also failed to take into account Solidarity's stance on a number of other issues. Nevertheless, the congress has not rejected the laws in their entirety. It is proposed to submit to a referendum only those regulations contained in the laws which diverge from the union's stance in a striking manner and jeopardize the principle of self-management.

During the next stage of the session tonight candidates for membership of the National Consultative Commission will present their views to the delegates at the congress.

Mass Media Discussed

LD032338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The congress of the NSZZ Solidarity has adopted a resolution which defines the union's position with regard to the laws on self-management of workforces and on state enterprises.

The question of the mass media roused a great deal of controversy, in the program theses and during discussion alike. Among demands put forward was a suggestion that the monoply of the state administration over radio and television should be ended. This could be done by setting up a supervisory body that would represent the government, the political parties, trade unions, religious associations, public organizations, and artistic communities.

Demands have been made for the possible setting up of radio broadcasting stations and television centers. The creation of information, photographic and film agencies and of press publishing houses has been announced for the future.

Once the program discussions were completed, elections took place, of which the first part consisted in the presentation of candidates for membership to the National Auditing Commission. Many of them emphasized the principle, incorporated in the new statute, that the Auditing Commission controls the union authorities not only organizationally and financially, but also as regards implementation of statute resolutions and decisions.

REPORTAGE ON 4 OCT SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SESSION

Program Discussion Shortened

LD041504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] At the Solidarity congress in Gdansk, it has been decided because of a lack of time, not to go on with the presentation of candidates for members for the National Consultative Commission and to shorten the program discussion.

At the congress, decisions on basic issues will be made. Other issues, on the other hand, will be discussed by the National Commission. Moreover, it has been decided to set up a special team to examine the matter of price increases for cigarettes. Today's deliberations were preceded by a mass celebrated by Bishop Lech Kaczmarek of the Gdansk Diocese.

Resolutions Adopted

LD041517 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Today on the ninth day of the Solidarity congress, at the proposal of several regional delegates, the agenda of the remaining part of the session was altered. The congress also decided to summon a special team to examine the matter of the rise in the price of cigarettes. Motions were put forward on this issue.

There were also more general opinions put forward regarding the manner in which price rises are implemented and the unions attitude on this question. Following this, during the morning, the delegates to the Solidarity congress adopted three successive resolutions. The first points to the necessity for concerning oneself with the neglected problem of invalidism by a specially appointed team attached to the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. The second is devoted to the matter of creating a daily union newspaper, with a range that would cover all Poland. In this newspaper the work of the KKP Presidium, the results of all of the union's talks with the government and the work of the Audit Commission in the matter of the union's wealth would be the main things discussed. The third resolution takes up a position regarding the refusal of entry visas to certain representatives of Western union organizations invited to the Solidarity congress session.

Walesa Questioned on Issues

NC041420 Paris AFP in English 1415 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, 4 Oct (AFP) -- Lech Walesa says he got exactly what he wanted in the 55-percent vote that re-elected him president of the Solidarity independent union at its congress here.

"I could have had 90 percent if I wanted," he said in an interview with AFP today. "I could have given them (the delegates) a pretty speech, told them everything was going well, that together we would push back the frontiers.

"But I gave them the worst speech possible, to see whether I would be judged on pretty words, or on work accomplished.

"It was a complete success," he said.

There was little showing today of the touch of humility he displayed after Friday's vote when, explaining his modest margin, he figured "maybe I lost touch with the grass roots."

Lech Walesa "will not change," he said today. "I act according to my conscience. I don't want to order, I want to serve. I'll give everything I have. I can't do more. And I won't change my leadership."

Mr Walesa, showing the strain of the election in his face but a gusto for pleasantry and Polish sausage, said he sees Poland's greatest danger in bitterness and complaining. in "not loving our neighbors enough."

"Without that, the oil will stop, gasoline will stop, transport and supplies as well," he said. "If we spit on them (the Soviets) too often, if we grumble too loudly, that's just what will happen. And without war, without tanks...

"First, we need to get production back on its feet, on an honest footing, through self-management," he said. "Then we'll have elbow room. Right now we're on our knees begging for oil."

And what threats will be facing Solidarity? Mr Walesa was asked.

"The union will show signs of weakness in the coming weeks," he said. "The delegates and officials will be exhausted. It will be a mess, a time of reorganization. And I worry about provocations, about letting ourselves be dragged into local conflicts that will only make life more difficult.

"I've been trying to explain this to the authorities," said Mr Walesa. "I've been telling them that if you continue to lean on us, you won't do any great harm, and you will pay in the long run. I've been saying, 'no arrests. Leave us alone.'"

Mr Walesa's views on the controversial self-management resolution passed by the congress: "Not a bad resolution. We can live with it."

And on the congress itself: "It is the first democratic parliament this country has seen in 36 years. It was a congress-school, more useful as a learning experience than for the actual decisions made."

Elections; Walesa Letter

LD041850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Gdansk correspondent Marek Szelewicki dispatch]

[Text] Following holy mass celebrated by Bishop Lech Kaczmarek today another day in the proceedings of Solidarity's national congress began. Already at the beginning the delegates voted to discontinue the presentation of candidates for the membership of the National Commission. Subsequently the delegates adopted three resolutions: on invalids, on setting up a daily congress paper, and on the refusal to give Polish entry visas to representatives of union centers from the United States, Belgium and Switzerland.

Subsequently draft resolutions received their first reading today; among them was a draft resolution concerning claims for war reparations. These draft resolutions have been forwarded to teams for further elucidation. In the meantime the issue of the presentation of candidate members for the National Commission returned to the agenda. Despite the resolution adopted in the morning, as a result of proposals from a few regions a vote was taken again. This time the delegates advocated almost unanimously a 2-minute time limit for each candidate's presentation.

Since the delegates realize that the session may be prolonged yet further, it has been decided that the congress debates should be continued after supper, too. Some candidate members of the national authorities referred to the time limits in their speeches. Thus Andrzej Gwiazda stated: I will oppose such practices as the fact that delegates are not granted enough time to speak.

The candidacy of (Andrzej Lemkiewicz) for Lower Silesia created quite a lot of chaos. Objections were raised to his candidacy because it proved to be rather difficult to ascertain his previous workplace. However, after a discussion (Andrzej Lemiewicz) failed to withdraw as a candidate.

After lunch the delegates continued with the presentation of candidates. During the evening session, following the report of a seven-man team from the Auditing Commission, the congress is to adopt a resolution on the price hikes.

It is expected that the presentation of candidate members of the National Commission will be completed and that the first round of elections will take place, as well as the second round of elections to the Auditing Commission.

The congress will, in all probability, continue until Tuesday.

It should be added that during today's debate Lech Walesa sent a letter to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, protesting against the price hikes for cigarettes, freshwater fish and fruit conserves. In this letter Lech Walesa insists that implementation of these hikes be halted.

Cigarette Price Hike Protested

NC041408 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Oct (AFP) -- Solidarity independent union Chairman Lech Walesa today protested cigarette price increases that are to go into effect tomorrow in Poland, in a telegram addressed to Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The 100-percent increases will bring the price of a packet of cigarettes up six to 32 xlotys (40 U.S. cents to two dollars), or more than the hourly salary of an average worker.

Cigarettes now cost between 11 and 65 zlotys (40 cents and two dollars).

They are rationed to three packs, and matches to two boxes a week.

Solidarity delegates at the federation's first annual congress have strongly condemned the price increases.

CIGARETTE PRICES TO BE INCREASED 5 OCTOBER

LD032358 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Oct (PAP) -- Retail prices of cigarettes, tobacco and matches will go up on Monday. The rise will put the prices of the most popular brands up 80 to 90 percent and matches will cost two and a half time more than so far.

The [word indistinct] effort to alleviate cigarette shortages, which have been felt for some time now as regard [words indistinct] aggravated this year, due both to reduced working week and shortages of imported cigarette components. In the first six months of this year, cigarette (?supplies) dropped by 14 percent.

Cigarette rationing, introduced some time ago, has been only (?partly) effective.

Under the conditions of a fast increase in incomes over the last decade, the annual per capital consumption of cigarettes grew from 1,700 in 1965 to 2,100 in 1970, 2,500 in 1957 and (?2700) in 1980. Thus Poland placed fourth in the world (after [name indistinct], Japan and Great Britain).

After the last rise of cigarette prices in August 1975, only minor corrections of prices have taken place. Cigarette prices in Poland have been considerably lower than in neighbouring countries.

The rise was consulted in advance with trade unions. The extra income from cigarette sale will be used to make up for some of the budget deficit, due to increased expenditure on social services, among other things.

OFFICIALS EXPLAIN PRICE RISES TO SOLIDARITY

Jaruzelski Sends Ministers

LD041758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] A journalist of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY has learned from the office of the Council of Ministers that in connection with its receipt of a telegram from Lech Walesa in which he criticizes [words indistinct] the price hikes of cigarettes and (?fish), the chairman of the Council of Ministers has instructed the finance minister to go immediately to Gdansk in order to hold talks with the Solidarity leadership on the subject.

Changed Agenda

LD042158 Warsaw PAP in English 2000 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Oct (PAP) -- The 9th day of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk today was preceded by a holy mass celebrated by Bishop Lech Kaczmaek, ordinary of the Gdansk diocese.

On motion from several regional delegations, the agenda for the rest of the congress was changed. To save time, the decision was taken to cut short the discussion of the union's programme; the congress will only take programmatic decisions in key and controversial issues. The other matters will be dealt with by the National Commission on the basis of the heretofore work done by the Programme Commission and the debate held at the congress.

The congress took the decision to set up a team to investigate the cigarettes price rise. In addition, the team is supposed to present general remarks on the ways of introducing price rises and the union's stand on the issue.

The delegates also took three resolutions: the first points to the need for a special team to take up the much [word indistinct] problem of invalids. The second concerns founding the (?Solidarity) nationwide daily, and the third specifies the delegates' stand on the fact that no Polish visas were granted to some representatives of Western trade union organizations who were invited to the congress.

Presentation of candidates for the National Consultative Commission [NCC] has been continued during today's debates.

The presentation was a kind of a shortened programme discussion. "Our employer has gone bankrupt and must organize a new, self-managed one," said Jerzy Milewski of Gdansk, thus expressing the stance of most of the candidates. Bogdan Lis, to-date deputy chairman of the NCC, articulated this idea in blunter political terms saying that Solidarity cannot be built into the existing system, but the system must be transformed in accordance with what the society wants.

There were also voices of total, demagogic criticism of the system of government and the management of the economy in Poland. Mikolaj Kiecko of Szczecin delivered a very biting speech, accusing the authorities of all the possible errors.

The presentation of candidates to the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity closed shortly after 8 p.m. According to the schedule, the second round of elections to the Auditing Commission and elections to the NCC will be held during the night session.

A special commission determined that the union had not been informed about the decision to raise the prices of cigarettes and matches. It was taken without the union's consent.

Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, head of the Prices Commission, and Finance Minister Marian Krzak arrived in Gdansk to clarify the issue.

Ministers' Appearance

LD050838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 5 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Reports by ZYCIE WARSZAWY special correspondents at the Solidarity congress mention the letter from Hungarian trade unionists and Lech Walesa's reply, divided views on the matter of economic reform, the election campaign to the National Commission and also the speeches delivered at the congress by Marian Krzak, minister of finance, and Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Price Commission.

The ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporters say that the ministers decided on a step which was unprecedented in our conditions and faced a demanding and mistrustful hall in order to defend the government's decision on increasing the prices of cigarettes. Minister Krzak presented the reasons for the decision. Zdzislaw Krasinski stated that the prices for cigarettes have been increased during the Solidarity congress only because this is an economic necessity and because things could not be delayed a day longer.

Further one, the ZYCIE WARSZAWY special correspondents say: A proposal was submitted to the effect that a negotiating group be appointed and that talks be started. Things have not gone as far as negotiations yet. Walesa has said that negotiations will start with the ministers only if the price increases are withheld until an agreement is reached in this matter. The hall approved his proposal by a majority vote, say Leszek Bedlowski and Janusz Reitter, ZYCIE WARSZAWY's special correspondents at the Solidarity congress.

PRICE RISE, SOLIDARITY'S CHANGED STAND VIEWED

Minister Recalls Earlier Stand

LD050030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Minister of Finance Marian Krzak and First Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Jan Zaleski, speaking on Warsaw Television's Sunday news program drew attention to important additional facts connected with the increases in the prices of cigarettes and matches. Minister Krzak explained that this issue was discussed during talks held a long time ago and on several occasions with representatives of the trade unions, especially Solidarity. The minister said that an economic team was set up some time ago to conduct talks with government representatives on the issue of finding a way out of the crisis. This group was chaired by Bogdan Lis and Jan Rulewski. During the talks in June the issue of a rise in prices was discussed. Marian Krzak added that Solidarity's program declaration also referred to the increase in the prices of cigarettes and alcohol and noted that it had been stated quite clearly at that time that the rises in the prices of these goods could and should be effected without compensation.

The minister of finance also recalled the stand taken by the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity during talks with the deputy chairman of the State Price Commission. The KKP stated at that time that it would not adopt an official stand on the rises in the retail price of tobacco goods and that it did not intend to launch any protest action in this connection. The KKP was of the opinion that the increase in the cost of living caused by the rise in the retail prices of tobacco goods required no compensation.

Marian Krzak said that similar talks had been held with the Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions on the increase of the price of cigarettes. Representatives of these trade unions did not deny that the increases were justified; they only had some doubts about the scale of the increases.

Price Rise Defended

LD050846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0611 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, a few moments ago we received a PAP communique. I can see it is not written very clearly so please accept my apologies beforehand for any possible mistakes. However, it seems to me to be important enough to give it to you in this "fresh from the oven" form.

The government press office reports that, despite earlier talks with representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] and NSZZ Solidarity on the subject of price increases for cigarettes, the government was informed that during the union's congress reservations were raised regarding the price increase of tobacco products which is being introduced on 5th of this month, today. It should be recalled that during the talks in the months of June and July of this year between the economic team of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the KKP team of NSZZ Solidarity, which was led by Bogdan Lis and Jan Rulewski, the representatives of KKP Solidarity adopted the following stance:

KKP of NSZZ Solidarity will not adopt an official stand on the price increase for tobacco products and neither does it intend to take, in connection with this increase, any protest actions. Secondly, the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity is of the opinion that the increase in the cost of living caused by the increase in the prices of tobacco products does not require compensation. This stance was confirmed in a discussion between KKP deputy chairman Bogdan Lis and Wojciech Prus, first deputy chairman of the State Price Commission, on 28 July of this year.

Bogdan Lis also stated during this discussion that the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity will demand that a report be published about the financial effects of the increase in prices of tobacco and about the allocation of the money gained as a result of this price increase.

In light of these facts the State Price Commission did not perceive any obstacles regarding the introduction, in the first few days of October of this year, of price changes for tobacco products. This was particularly true because this matter was discussed in a similar spirit with representatives of the other trade unions.

In connection with the reservations raised at the NSZZ Solidarity congress Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Prices Commission, and Marian Krzak, minister of finance, went to Gdansk on the evening of Sunday the 4th on the instruction of the chairman of the Council of Ministers so as to present to the congress delegates the reasons for the price change that had been effected. This took place at about 2300. After giving the reasons for the change in the price of tobacco products Ministers Zdzislaw Krasinski and Marian Krzak answered delegates' questions. They point, in particular, to such circumstances as the increase in the cost of purchasing tobacco leaves, the exhausted possibilities for increasing the output of cigarettes in Poland and the need to gain additional budgetary revenues so as to finance urgent social needs, particularly in the sphere of health protection and social benefits.

After the delegates listened to the explanations given by the ministers the congress delegates decided by a majority vote to appoint a commission to deal with the staging of negotiations on this matter with the ministers in Gdansk. After the commission was appointed discussion got underway again at a plenary session during which some of the delegates stated that the congress should not deal with this matter. Certain delegates demanded that the announced changes in the price of cigarettes should be suspended forthwith. In the end the delegates voted yesterday -- to be more precise today because it was 0040 on the 5th -- for a proposal that the government should be urged to put off the change in the price of tobacco products.

In this situation talks did not get underway with the appointed negotiating commission. The suspension of the increase in the price of cigarettes is not justified with regard to the merits of the case. In addition it is impossible because of technical reasons since by now the new prices have already come into force throughout the country. The government continues to declare its readiness for further talks in this matter for carrying out an analysis, and for examining the structure of prices and the consequences of the increase in the cost of living caused by the change in the price of tobacco products. This should take place in the context of the whole economic reform and the change in the system of prices connected with this reform.

DISCUSSION OF SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

LD042326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] [Announcer] We are returning to the subject of the proceedings of the congress of the delegates of the NSZZ Solidarity. In the studio, our Gdansk correspondent Marek Szelewicki is talking to his guests:

[Szelewicki] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Once more I have invited to our studio in Gdansk editors of our daily press who are covering the Solidarity congress. I welcome in the studio editor Jerzy Bielecki of TRYBUNA LUDU and editor Edmund Pietrzak of GLOS WYBRZEZA. Late last night the congress adopted a resolution on the self-management of employees and this, perhaps, is one of the most important documents of this round of the congress.

[Bielecki] It seems to me so, although my comment on the subject is as follows: This is one of the worst documents of the congress. What happened, laies and gentlemen, was that the draft resolution proposed by the Commission on Motions and Resolutions was not passed and the congress, instead, adopted the draft resolution proposed by delegates from Lodz, and, first of all, by Mr Grzegorz Palka. Well, in my opinion, the note sounded by this resolution questions the Sejm laws on self-management of workforces and on state enterprises, calls upon members of Solidarity at the enterprises to implement self-management based on principles adopted by the union and announces the launching of a referendum on the subject of five rather essential points which have been unanimously adopted by the Sejm as laws on the issues concerned.

[Pietrzak] It seems to me that I cannot agree with this assessment by my worthy colleague; there are several reasons for it. First, because the difference between the two draft resolutions is, in substance, relatively small. In my opinion, the biggest difference lies in the fact that the draft which has been rejected expresses a greater degree of confidence in the authorities than the second draft which has been adopted. If one examines the reservations regarding the merits of the case, contained in both drafts, as well as what the two drafts actually propose if the reservations are not taken into account, we will arrive at the conclusion that both drafts are proposing the same thing, that is, a referendum on the issue of the various points, except that in the case of the draft which has been rejected the referendum would have been held after 6 months, while in the case of the draft which has been adopted -- the one submitted by the delegates from Lodz, which, by the way, did not originate from one author, Mr Palka, but from three authors including Messrs Kowalewski and Sewerynski -- the referendum would be launched immediately, but with regard to each one of the various points involved and not on the Sejm laws in their entirety.

[Szelewicki] Was this issue very widely discussed before the resolution was adopted?

[Bielecki] It seems to me, gentlemen, that one should dot the 'i's here. I will quote the words of the delegates. During the stormy and controversial debate various formulations were heard: One should not manipulate the issue; after all, the Commission on Motions and Resolutions was opposed to this way of settling the matter.

Surely it was precisely Mr Palka -- and this is why I mentioned his name -- who foisted upon the congress the adoption of this particular resolution. It seems to me that the expression "the congress calls upon all workforces to set up genuine employees' management bodies on the basis of principles which accord with the stand adopted by the union" amounts to a clear adoption by the congress of a stand about the existing law, about the Sejm.

[Pietrzak] This is my impression. In this resolution, in this Lodz draft that has been accepted, the last sentence quoted by my colleague is indeed unfortunate, since, as far as the method of action implied in the sentence is concerned, it runs counter to the whole remaining content of this resolution. That is to say, up until this last sentence they were saying they will be doing this, that and the other, whereas this last sentence, as it were, negates it all. Nonetheless, I would not here share this opinion about this manipulation, since it is difficult for me to imagine that one person, even if that person is supported by 10 or 20 more, can manage to make the delegates accept this second draft, almost the overwhelming majority of them. I wish to emphasize here yet again one thing: Delegates -- and I've been watching these proceedings for nine days now -- do not have confidence in the authorities. The Lodz draft differs from the first one in this...above all in that it reflects this lack of confidence. In this respect it is more radical.

[Szelewicki] Gentlemen, the world "manipulation" was used here, both by Mr Bielecki and Mr Pietrzak. It seems that this word was most in use during the first round of the congress. As far as I hear, these accusations crop up all the time during the second round at which I am not present.

[Bielecki] Maybe I can give one example. Today Mr (Syryjczyk), the chairman of the congress Presidium during the first round -- and currently he is not chairing the congress, since the Presidium was changed by a decision of the congress -- was asked: How do you assess the extent to which you have manipulated the congress? Was it 10, 50, 70 or even 100 percent? The reply was very beief: I am being accused of manipulating the congress by Lech Walesa, Andrzej Gwiazda and TRYBUNA LUDU. I have found myself in rather interesting company.

[Szelewicki] Unusual, that.

[Pietrzak] Indeed. The word manipulation is used most frequently at the congress. Well, I'd put it this way: Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to me, albeit this is a truism, that we are simply learning democracy. Delegates are very mistrustful, even toward themselves. That is why I am not at all surprised that so much is being said about it. However, I would differentiate between manipulation and normal attempts to gain allies around some matter or other, for these two things are completely different.

[Bielecki] Can I just say a few words? Mr Editor, it seems to me that the thesis of lack of confidence which is being taken as one which justifies congress decisions is an unacceptable thesis. One can build a program of negation on this lack of confidence. Nothing constructive can be built on a lack of confidence; no one will move even one step forward on it.

[Pietrzak] I would not agree with the opinion that the most important decisions of the congress were made under the influence of some one's manipulation. I am of the opinion that they simply reflected the will of a decisive majority of the delegates.

[Szelewicki] Gentlemen, I suggest that our conversation on the subject of the word manipulation could end here. Let us go on now to today's debate. The presentation of National Commission candidate members went on since the morning. How do you assess opinions, gentlemen? I know each one of them had only 2 minutes to have his say, but is it already possible to outline the line of the National Commission, due to be elected soon, on this basis?

[Bielecki] Maybe we should start by saying that it was not all that simple. First, the congress waived its previous resolution to the effect that each candidate would have 2 minutes. The presentation was to have consisted in this: he goes to the mike and states his name and surname. After some time, a few delegates said that they would rather not have any presentation at all if all they could say was their name and surname! I counted four or five such delegates. Then we had a break. At a motion from the Mandates and Election Commission it was decided to waive that resolution and to give each candidate 2 minutes to present himself.

[Pietrzak] Two minutes is better than nothing, though it would have been better if each candidate had a bit more time. Nonetheless, it seems to me that on the basis of what was said today by the candidates that have been presented, one can say this: The most important issue put forward by the candidates was access to the mass media. It is stated in this context that an economic reform on which consultation is necessary is impossible if there is no access.

And the third issue -- because reform is the second issue -- is the issue of economic self-management. At last, a great deal is being said about democracy. Last but not least there is the issue of preparations for winter, that is, lines which exist and how to eliminate them.

[Bielecki] Yes. I agree that these subjects predominate. But I would like to draw attention to yet another quite significant subject, or rather the climate in which this presentation is taking place. The delegates are asked the question: When did you leave the PZPR? Or, why are you still a member of the PZPR? Well, one has to say that this creates a certain climate. I think that such a presentation formula sounds somewhat odd in a union in whose statute freedom of views is written down.

[Pietrzak] I would not resolve this matter, Mr Editor, just now; I would resolve this matter only when the results of the elections to the National Commission are known and we shall see how many party members remain there.

[Bielecki] Mr Editor, I permit myself to say that we are not resolving anything here in the studio.

[Szelewicki] Thank you for this discussion today. We have run out of time to discuss the attitude of the congress toward the price rise, an issue which is being widely commented upon. I think that in the talk tomorrow, in which I am also counting on your participation, we shall be able to discuss it in greater detail.

MEDIA COMMENT ON SOLIDARITY CONGRESS EVENTS

Vote for Commonsense

LD050830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 5 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries a commentary by Wieslaw Kozyra devoted to the election of Lech Walesa to the post of chairman of the Solidarity National Consultative Commission. According to Wieslaw Kozyra, what was decisive in Lech Walesa's triumph was his basic good point, namely political [word indistinct]. Wieslaw Kozyra says that what convinced the hall was Walesa's reasoning that one cannot adhere blindly to decisions that were once taken and that one cannot conduct the struggle for union goals on the principle of a battering ram. On the contrary, what is needed is flexibility and resolute demands but also compromises. [word indistinct]

What are the consequences of this election? It is a fact, the ZYCIE WARSZAWY reporter says, that although Walesa was torn to bits it was he who nevertheless was elected for the next 2 years. Thus a line of agreement and moderation has been chosen: a course toward a trade union and not a political party. Commonsense has been chosen, and that is the only thing that counts.

TASS Report Cited

LD030902 Warsaw PAP in English 0813 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Moscow, 2 Oct (PAP) -- Writing about the situation in Poland the Soviet TASS agency referred to the Solidarty congress and noted that part of the congress delegates who were elected from among workers appear to resent the fact that opponents of socialism are manipulating the congress, using it to organize fresh provocations aimed against the PUWP, the Polish Government and Poland's allies.

Many speakers, the agency said, urged that Solidarity concern itself with genuine union problems and do not ignore everyday needs and concerns of working people. They emphasized that the union leadership takes lightly the interests of working masses and does not consult its decisions with them. TASS quotes a statement by a participant in the congress who condemned the atmosphere of hostility and discrimination of PUWP members affiliated with Solidarity and also a statement by a speaker who called for bringing in union work and stopping irresponsible attacks of the Soviet Union.

The overall atmosphere prevailing in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall, reads the TASS dispatch, has been imposed by a gang of counterrevolutionary politicasters. Everything indicates that the advocates of the uncompromising confrontation with the authorities have come to the belief that they can get away with it. With greater insistence than during the first round of the congress demands are being put that the whole practice of socialist construction be given up and the basis of the system destroyed.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY Report

AU021215 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Leszek Bedkowski, Janusz Reiter report on first 2 days of the Solidarity Congress in Gdansk on 26 and 27 September]

[Excerpts] Issue number one of the first 2 days of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk -- the new laws on workers self-management groups and on enterprises -- proved to be a time-bomb. Some people tried by every means to accelerate the blast and others did everything to prevent it. At the same time, both tried not to show their intentions and succeeded because the subject of the discussion remained undefined for a long time. There was a clash of arguments formally concerning different issues.

They concerned, first, the contents of those laws -- whether they can be accepted by the delegates and are consistent with their ideas of self-management; and, second, the compromise decision made by the National Consultative Commission (KKP) Presidium that made it possible for the Sejm to pass the laws as they were.

A fact that some delegates evaluated as a deviation from the resolution passed by the first round of the congress to the effect that a referendum should be held. Another thing: Personal ambitions and rivalry among some Solidarity functionaries asserted themselves, which in a way heralded the approach of the election struggle. This produced attempts to introduce elements of investigation into the discussion so as to fix the personal responsibility of the KKP members for the compromise decision they made.

Lech Walesa -- impulsive as usual -- went on to defend the KKP decision. In his view theoretical arguments obscured reality for many delegates. The "theoreticians" are afraid that the laws in question will make it impossible to organize in large enterprises self-management groups entitled to select managers. But the practice has proved that it is in large enterprises that Solidarity has the best organization and will surely not lose the battle for self-management. On the other hand, the situation in small enterprises is not so good because -- although the law provides extensive opportunities for such enterprises -- it is not at all certain that plant committees will be able to use them.

Instead of attending to such weak points of Solidarity's work, too many delegates think only of the high politics and "totalitarian power" of Solidarity, failing to bear in mind that society will always reject such power.

The group of advocates of the compromise included -- aside from Walesa and Celinski -- up to 20 delegates, who in their speeches brought in new arguments in favor of approving the laws passed by the Sejm and of the KKP Presidium's position.

All the arguments against the laws in question were based on emotions rather than commonsense and did not shun even demagogy. One speaker did not hesitate to chide the fact that social tension had relaxed as a result of the adoption of the laws. The champions of such a "front of renewal" -- Jan Rulewski from Bydgoszcz and Grzegorz Palka from Lodz -- accused the trade union colleagues of failing to use a referendum as a new method of struggle. In their view, it was not enough to put heavy artillery in position -- a metaphor often used during discussion with reference to the issue of a referendum brought out during the first round of the congress -- but to fire it so as to gain full victory.

It seems that champions of the compromise were in majority, and this impression was confirmed privately by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the congress press spokesman. Moreover, that majority had much better arguments in its favor.

A profound distrust to the apparatus of power induces some people to assume that only a 100 percent and unconditional settlement of their positions can guarantee the maintenance of their strong points. However, the discussion participants are clearly divided on this question. Those who, while even speaking of "struggle" have in mind partnerlike dialogue, are winning the upper hand it seems.

TRYBUNA LUDU Report

AU021759 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Teresa Grabczynska, Zbigniew Wrobel report on the 28 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpts] The third day of the Solidarity congress was dominated by the issues of the electoral rules concerning the elections to Solidarity's national authorities.

However, before a debate on that important issue had begun, Prof Edward Lipinski, a guest of the congress and one of the leaders of so-called KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] rose to speak and announced that KOR had decided to give up its activities. The decision was made because Solidarity is implementing the aims that KOR was pursuing during the 5 years of its activity.

E. Lipinski commented at length on the protocol drawn up by Solidarity's Press Bureau (BIPS). He drew attention to the "absurd statements made by representatives of the apparatus of power about the Armed Forces' defense of socialism; that socialism has resulted in an unprecedented ruin of the economy and represents a system of prisons and censorship." He regards himself "a socialist, but the system dominating our country can be defined only as 'antisocialist'".

Professor Lipinski drew attention to the "fascist image of some press organs supported by the apparatus of power." The hall rewarded with applause Lipinski's increasingly aggressive formulations. This was followed by a debate on Solidarity's electoral rules.

In the meantime, Wlodzimierz Czapko, deputy chairman of Solidarity's factory commission in the Szczyglowice coalmine, rose to speak, presenting his own report on and evaluation of the incident that had occurred there last Wednesday and which has caused a tense situation in Silesia. The hall responded with laughter and applause to his description of how the chairman of the miners branch trade unions had been carted out in a wheelbarrow from the mine.

Most of the afternoon session was taken up by the first reading of the Solidarity electoral rules. The Monday session ended at 1900.

Before the evening round of the session was over, a traditional press conference -- one of three daily press conferences -- was held in the press center. One of the subjects of the conference was the dissolution of KOR. Asked to comment on this fact, J. Onyszkiewicz said that the Solidarity congress delegates had been handed a draft resolution that appraises very highly KOR's participation in organizing Solidarity.

However, the main 1-hour activity of the 2-hour press conference was a typical "grilling" of the organizers of the so-called Trade Union of the Militia Functionaries. Their statements indicated that former militia functionaries, released from the service a few months ago, are members of the founding team of this trade union.

'Inside Stories' of Solidarity

AU021745 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 81 p 2

["BGW" report: "In the Hall and Behind the Scenes"]

[Text] In line with the decision made during the first round of the Solidarity congress, a new Presidium was elected for the second round. This 20-person Presidium running the congress has 17 people with higher education, including 4 scientific workers, 3 engineers, 2 physicians and 2 lawyers.

The press enclosure is now more crowded than during the first round: New domestic and foreign press teams have been accredited and there are very many Solidarity pressmen. We noticed a Czechoslovak TV team among the foreign TV crews.

At the Friday press conference the KKP [National Consultative Commission] press spokesman said he knew nothing about a Solidarity delegation's visit to France. He merely said that a delegation of the Silesia-Dabrowa region had visited France, but in the press file we found issue 136 of NIEZALEZNOSC [INDEPENDENCE] dated 25 Sep 81, which states inter alia that on Thursday [probably 24 September] customs officers objected to some 60 books published in the West and brought back by Solidarity delegation members, including Anna Walentynowicz, returning from France.

Did a delegation go to France or not?

The congress journal GLOS WOLNY [FREE VOICE] issue 13 of 27 September, under the headline "A Message Smuggled From Prison" carries Leszek Moczulski's brief message from his prison and captions it with this note: "The text of the message was deleted by the censor from the most recent issue of SOLIDARNOSC."

The delegates from Bydgoszcz have become specialists in "parliamentary" metaphors. First, Jan Rulewski said at the congress that approving the Sejm laws is tantamount to "accepting a girl who is not a virgin." Later on Ryszard Helak corrected his colleague by saying that "attempts are made to impose on us those laws like a whore for a wife."

On 25 September Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that Solidarity did not know much about the Founding Committee of the Militia Trade Unions because such a union was not in line with the ILO convention, but soon afterward he read out a leaflet about the cancelation of the court session in connection with the registration of that union.

On Saturday morning the journalists found in the press files a photocopy of the Warsaw Voivodship Court's decision on the cancelation of its session and the reason for the cancelation. The same day a resolution was passed to "invite" a delegation of the Founding Committee in question to the congress. And again -- as in the case of Anna Walentinowicz -- the press spokesman did not have the necessary information.

The TRYBUNA LUDU issue with the commentary "Epitaph" was especially popular in the wings of the congress. It so happened that it reached the congress "Ruch" kiosk at the moment the statement on KOR's [Social Self-Defense Committee] dissolution was read out at the congress.

Lech Walesa Interview

PM021211 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 30 Sep 81 pp 1-2

[Paolo Elia 29 September interview in Gdansk with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa: "Our Record of Victories and Defeats"]

[Excerpt] Gdansk, 29 Sep -- [Question] Somebody said yesterday that Lech Walesa is now alone in the trade union: How do you feel at the moment, and how would you reply to these charges?

[Answer] Alone? It is not true. I have worked here for 21 years, but for some time now I have also been working to build the trade union to defend the workers' rights and to create the conditions of a real deomcracy. Frankly, everyone who has been with me over the years is still with me. I have many friends, especially in the grass roots, among the workers, among those who have been through so many experiences with me.

[Question] The Gdansk accords were signed a year ago; even then Solidarity was already known throughout the world, and so were you. Now all of us who supported Solidarity from the outset are here together at this first congress, which is also a celebration. Would you care to take stock of your first year's activity?

[Answer] It is a record of victories and defeats. We have achieved everything and nothing, but we have opened the way to many gains, to the growth of the movement and of society. Now we must beware of acting on impulse; we must continue with gradual work to pursue and really achieve all our objectives. The strategy pursued until now has not been consistent [lineare], and certain errors have been made with which we will try to deal during the congress. For I expect major results from this congress.

[Question] Are you referring to the self-management plan?

[Answer] Self-management is Solidarity's offspring, but the trade union must not limit itself to this proposal. A more flexible trade union structure must be formulated, at the same time leaving scope for Solidarity's independence. Of course we support self-management but that is not all.

[Question] What will Solidarity's role be after the congress?

[Answer] It is not up to me to decide: We shall see what the congress does.

[Question] One thorny problem is the decision taken by the National Consultative Commission Presidium on the election of factory managers: The resolution was adopted by only a few people....

[Answer] I do not want to conduct polemics and do not accept polemics. But sometimes you must be able to adopt certain stances -- the right ones at the right time.

[Question] Is there any receptivity on the trade union's part toward Olszowski's proposal to create a national cooperation front?

[Answer] Perhaps one day it will be possible to implement it, but certainly not now. We want to be truly independent and to follow our options through to their conclusions. Even if I find myself alone, I will continue to support these positions. Moreover, Poland is certainly not Italy. The danger of such a proposal is the restoration of the same relations that existed between the old trade union and the government. For the time being it is impossible to reach an agreement that will safeguard our independence. Cooperation always imposes limits on trade union activity. THese limits are like a straitjacket for me.

[Question] What is your opinion of the workers' Social Self-Defense Committee's [KOR] decision to dissolve itself, announced right here at the congress?

[Answer] Did you know that TRYBUNA LUDU has published an "epitaph" for the KOR?

[Question] But in your opinion was it a positive or an inopportune decision?

[Answer] Good and bad at the same time. But I am not someone who reflects on the past. I do not ponder things that have already been decided. I am a man of action. A trade union's work is continuous and never leaves time for reflection. We will form our assessment on the basis of what the KOR members do: We shall see how they behave, how they act within Solidarity. When I lost my job it was the KOR which helped me. They found me lawyers, continued to provide me with enough to live on -- economic assistance, but also great strength. Many people have been close to the KOR in recent years: Many have been in Solidarity with the KOR. The KOR too was a form of specific solidarity among the workers. And its ideas were to be found to a certain extent in Solidarity too. But the KOR was not the only movement in Poland, and the independent trade union represents almost all of them. They have all made Solidarity their banner. However, since we built Solidarity I do not consider it right to support this or that movement. We need everyone's support, without preferences and without showing partiality to anyone. We must build this organization; the work is huge and we have had little practice. In recent years the KOR has been the most highly organized group. Thre is so much to do, but also so much to learn.

REGIONAL STRIKE READINESS, ALERT REPORTED

Mazowsze Region

LD021900 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The Skierniewice board of Solidarity, Mazowsze section, has announced a strike readiness at industrial enterprises in the voivodship, in protest against the deteriorating supply of food and, it is stated, in view of it being impossible to come to an agreement in this matter with the administrative authorities of the voivodship. At the same time, a change in the voivodship authorities and talks with the government are being demanded.

Czestochowa Alert

LD022252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Strike readiness is still being maintained in Czestochowa. This is in connection with the indictment against Marian Zembruzuski, a member of the regional Solidarity board, submitted by the voivodship prosecutor's office. Talks got underway this afternoon between the voivoda and representatives of the regional board.

MINERS WORK FREE SATURDAY ON VOLUNTARY BASIS

LD030846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 3 Oct 81

[(Jerzy Wieczorek) dispatch from Katowice]

[Text] Last Wednesday the Silesia-Dabrowa regional board of NSZZ Solidarity adopted a resolution, in which it suspended on today's free Saturday execution of the appeal by the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. I remind you that this concerns work on 8 free Saturdays.

We clearly stress, we read in the resolution, that we do not reject working on the rest of the appeal Saturdays, but we are only postponing them. The undertaking of work on the remaining appeal Saturdays we make dependent on the good will of the government, shown in the talks conducted with our representatives.

And so the miners of many coal mines began work today on the morning shift on an entirely voluntary basis. This is the case in the Gottwald mine, where miners have come to work and have just now descended to the 570-meter extraction level. From the Solidarity works committee I learned that on the last appeal Saturday almost 9,000 tons of coal were extracted. Also at the Sosnica coal mine the miners came to work today on a fully voluntary basis. In the opinion of Solidarity works representative Andrzej (Hanasiewicz), many members of this union adopt the attitude that the miners have the right to higher wages for work on "black" days, while special supplements for Saturday are contradictory with the Jastrzebie agreement.

In the Szczyglowice coal mine, where a strike alert is in force, the miners at yesterday's mass meeting advocated suspending, as they call it, the Solidarity [word indistinct] and have not started work today.

We have, however, more optimistic examples. Yesterday we received a telex from the Solidarity works commission from Staszic coal mine in which we read: we are treating 3 October as support for the proposals presented by the KKP, and we propose that the entire workforce should come to work. The resolution was adopted by 100 votes for, and 8 against. I have just spoken with the oreman of Staszic coal mine who informed me that at the moment the miners are going down to the mine.

From my information it transpires that in many mines work has been undertaken today on a fully voluntary basis. The fact, however, that extraction will be less than last Saturday is demonstrated by the fact that the miners have ordered from the Silesian railroad region coal trucks for a load of (?121,000) tons of coal, whereas last Saturday they ordered trucks for 60,000 tons more than that.

SOLIDARITY ESTABLISHES PRESS POLICY COUNCIL

LD050330 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Excerpt] A press conference has been held devoted to Solidarity's independent press, particularly to the publication and distribution problems it is encountering in certain parts of the country. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the union's press spokesman, and (Elizjusz Maszkowski), chairman of the Pila region of Solidarity, stressed that the union will resolutely defend its press, in particular those journalists who have been indicted. The establishment of a policy council charged with setting the union's general national press and information policy has been announced.

SOLIDARITY MEMBERS SEEK MEDIA CHIEF'S DISMISSAL

PM050913 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 25 Sep 81 p 7

["Open Letter" from journalists belonging to Solidarity union radio and television section to Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski]

[Text] For the past 2 months, the situation in the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs has been continuously deteriorating. This concerns to an equal degree relations between the executive and the workers and relations between the executive and NSZZ Solidarity. This state of affairs is a result, among other things, of the following facts:

1. On Behalf of the executive, Chairman Wladyslaw Lorenc has unilaterally broken agreements concluded between the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs Presidium and the NSZZ Solidarity National Coordination Commission (lack of consultations with respect to matters of fundamental importance concerning personnel policy, restriction of access to the printing department and Telex, and changes in organizational structures carried out without consultation).

2. Concealment from the workforce of the results of inspections carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control.

3. Nonimplementation of demands put forward by the workers (as far as television is concerned, so far only 5 percent of demands have been met).

4. Promotion of Stanislaw Celichowski, chief editor of the television news program, who has been responsible for a policy of information manipulation (the Bydgoszcz affair, the Westerplatte monument and so forth) to the deputy chairmanship of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs.

5. Prevention of radio and television transmissions from the first NSZZ Solidarity national congress.

6. Threat of dismissal against Polish Radio journalists who signed an open letter to listeners.

7. Disregard of the opinions of social and professional organizations (the Association of Polish Journalists, for instance) on the subject of radio and television programs.

8. Dissemination of untrue information about strike readiness or strike action in the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs and at radio and television stations.

9. Creation of a state-of-emergency atmosphere in radio and television by the exorting of statements of loyalty to the executive (unprecendented way of familiarizing the workforce with resolution 185-81).

10. Imposition of a ban on participation of journalists from regional centers in the first NCZZ Solidarity national congress.

11. Public statement containing the declaration that the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs executive will break the law whenever it deems it fit.

12. Introduction of the militia into the sphere of activities of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, forcing workers to perform their duties under the supervision of that service.

13. In a situation where a meeting between the Solidarity National Consultative Commission Presidium led by Lech Walesa and radio and television workers was announced, debarring the National Consultative Commission delegation from being received on Committee for Radio and Television Affairs premises and threatening to use militia and troops against any of the committee's own employees who participated in such a meeting.

In the opinion of radio and television workers who are members of NSZZ Solidarity, the program and internal management policy implemented by Wladyslaw Lorenc, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, is bound to lead to confrontation. The situation within the radio and television service and its consequences in the sphere of broadcasting bear a close resemblance to the period when Maciej Szczepanski was in charge.

As trade unionists, we have a moral duty in this situation to express our concern publicly.

In view of the preceding and of the fact that all possible efforts to reach agreement with the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs executive have been unavailing, as well as in order to prevent a situation in which all social agreements could break down, with all the consequences which this would entail, we ask for the removal of citizen Wladslaw Lorenc from the chairmanship of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs.

Signed of behalf of the radio and television section of the NSZZ Solidarity National Coordination Commission by

Pirtr Zaluski, Wroclaw OTV [expansion unknown, possible television district], chairman of the National Coordination Commission; Piotr Mroczyk, chairman of the Warsaw Radio and Television Enterprise Committee; Jan Moculski, Warsaw Radio and Television; Zygmunt Gutowski, Warsaw Radio and Television; Andrzej Warchalowski, Krakow OTV Andrzej Bors, Kielce Polish Radio; Tomasz Piotrowski, Bialystock Polish Radio; Waclaw Bialy, Lublin Polish Radio; Ryszard Zalewski, Koszalin Polish Radio; Jerzy Sysak, Katowice, Polish Radio; Wojciech Biedak, Poznan Radio and Television.

KOR DISSOLUTION, SUCCESSOR REPORTED, ANALYZED

Independence Clubs

AU021810 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Sep 81 p 2

["BGW" report: "Not a Day Without a Void...."].

[Text] Before people had a chance to absorb Prof E. Lipinski's sensational information that KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] had dissolved itself (TRYBUNA LUDU hinted at this even earlier), a new group has constituted itself in the hospitable wings of the Olivia Hall under the patronage of Wojciech Ziembinski, who, as he says, is editor of RZECZPOSPOLITA NIEPODLEGLA [INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC].

At the lunch break, W. Ziembinski told the journalists that, together with some scores of persons, he had organized the KSN -- Clubs in the Service of Independence [Kluby Sluzby Niepodleglosci] -- as of 27 September.

KOR was satisfied with Solidarity, but not so Ziembinski. He wants more, he wants his own movement, which in its programmatic declaration announced inter alia a struggle for international independence and independent existence as well as for free elections to the Sejm and self-government elections; defense of civic rights; "cleansing" history of lies....

Janusz Onyszkiewicz did not delay announcing at the press conference that Solidarity was sympathetic to every independent movement and that everyone should organize in line with one's views and interests.

The founding group of the clubs in question includes inter alia the names of former KOR members -- one Mr Maciarewicz, for example -- a number of high functionaries of Solidarity in regional boards, and, finally, Prof Stefan Kurowski.

KOR is dead. Long live the KSN! Not a day without a void....

Divergent Views, Opposition

LD041712 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2230 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Commentary written by Dr (Leszek Grzybowski)]

[Text] Delegates to the first Solidarity congress have been notified that the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] is dissolving itself. The announcement was given by Professor Edward Lipinski, one of KOR's founding members. It is no exaggeration to say that KOR is the phenomenon in the political life of the recent period which has aroused, and continues to arouse, a great deal of passion and divergent judgments.

It is a matter here of divergences in public opinion, for the attitude of the PZPR leadership and of the state authorities toward KOR was unambiguous both before and after August 1980, with the sole difference that before August there was no mention of KOR at all in official reports, while the existence of this group was only incidentally recorded in intraparty reports, treating it as a curiosity on the Polish political scene. Following August people began to speak of KOR loudly and a lot, connecting the majority of tensions in relations between the government and Solidarity and also the formation of an extreme trend in Solidarity with KOR's activity.

As far as public opinion is concerned, it partly shares the view propagated in numerous KOR publications to the effect that it is an organization which has performed great services for renewal in Poland. The services to Solidarity are chiefly stressed, with the view being noted to the effect that it was none other than KOR which ensured its advisers, organized the union mass media and staffed them with its people, collaborators or sympathizers, who had specialist preparation for conducting information and propaganda activity. Such assessments can be found in many Solidarity publications, which after all is no surprise since it is true that they came into being with considerable participation by KOR.

There also exists a substantial group of opponents of KOR. There is no way of doing so with the partisans of this organization; but without a doubt there is a decisive majority of PZPR members among them, who for quite a long time, and recently with increasing frequency, have been reached by reports on the subject of KOR's activity, its connections with the Western centers of sabotage, and also criticial studies concerning the various kinds of programmatic documents of this organization. It is characteristic too that almost all the illegal organizations which have an oppositional nature and which are active in Poland referred to KOR in their publications both before and after August with a great deal of hostility. Each one of them stresses a different cause for its disapproval.

Thus the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], chiefly Moczulski, accused KOR of excessive shiftiness in its strategy of action, mainly the concealment of its [word indistinct]. The Organization of Polish Socialists in its publications presented an extensive register of KOR activities which contravened the elementary ethical norms. It was a case both of numerous provocations in the political underground community active in Poland, which tendentiously set those circles by the ears, and of actions by KOR which tore away the credibility of the oppositional organizations in existence in Poland in the eyes of the Polish political emigres in the West and in those of the Western propaganda and sabotage centers, such as Radio Free Europe, for instance. KOR met with still harsher attacks from the direction of the so-called nationalists [narodowocow], which assemble in such groups as Polish Self-Defense or the independent (?political) group.

The publications of these groups mainly stressed the Jewish origin of most of the KOR activists and emphasized, in accordance with the national democratic tradition to which these groups refer, the need for particular caution with regard to everything which is not basically Polish. The nationalists, moving in powerful union with the Catholic Church, saw in KOR a threat to the church in Poland and followed with alarm the metamorphoses of certain KOR activists, such as Kuron or Michnik, who in recent years have begun to develop from a total negation of the faith of the Catholic Church toward adoration for the Gospel, for Catholic doctrines, and so forth. The publications of the nationalists assessed this as tactical blandishments.

The common denominator of all the political groups active in Poland regarding their attitude toward KOR was (?for years) their unconcealed concern that it monopolizes contacts with the West. It was pointed out that the groups which grew out of the Polish political tradition -- this concerns the 20 years between the wars -- make use of financial support and of the propaganda of Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish to a far lesser extent. In this latter matter, the KPN even sent a letter to the U.S. President requesting him to influence Radio Free Europe, which pays little attention to the KPN.

With such divergent assessments in the media on the subject of KOR, from apologetics to total negation, it seems that the majority of society remains between the two extremes, and although the matter, I dare say, is of acute concern to it, it has no fully-formed opinion about this organization. The author of the present commentary is among those who have worked out for themselves a rather autonomous judgment regarding KOR, on the basis of reading most of the documents of this organization, the individual publications of its members, and also of observation of the manifestations of its actions both before and after August.

Thus, for instance, for me there can be no doubt that the initiative to call KOR into being in August 1976 was not a spontaneous reflex aimed at defending the victims of the events of June 1976 together with human and citizen's rights in Poland, as it is defined in KOR documents, but that it was an action planned much earlier and inspired from abroad. The conception of KOR, its program and patterns for action matured in the columns of the Paris KULTURA during the years 1968-76. This is obvious to anyone who has taken the trouble to read the items printed by this publication, which for years has been connected with the U.S. administration. Nor is it the work of chance that the initiative to call KOR into being coincided with the political policy of the U.S. administration, which during this very period undertook a political and propaganda offensive against the socialist countries under the slogans of defending human rights, and which was interested in creating lasting oppositional structures in these countries, appearing under those very slogans. This explains the causes of the political and financial support which the West gives to KOR, along with the relatively low interest shown by the foreign sabotage centers in the dozen or so other oppositional groups active in Poland in the second half of the seventies.

The list of the moral and political accusations which could be presented to KOR today when it sums up its achievements during its 5 years of activity and proclaims its political testament is extensive, and they can by no means be presented in a small pamphlet. After all, it is no accident that there is agreement between the assessments on this made by such different political orientations as the PZPR, the ruling communist party, and the various kinds of little political groups which are hostile to this party. It is not just in TRYBUNA LUDU that you can read of the manipulation practiced by KOR within Solidarity, of the agent [agenturalny] nature of many of KOR's actions, of the rabid ambitions of many of this organization's leaders. We can also read of them in publications of a more or less clearly antisocialist nature. Most of those activists who are leaving Solidarity at the moment, both those who do so with something of a splash such as Sienkiewicz, [word indistinct], and those who leave more discreetly, are parting with Solidarity on observing the destructive role played by KOR in this union. Obviously, it is an enormous simplification to paint KOR and its activity only in black. Both within the KOR organization itself and among its collaborators and sympathizers there are many people motivated by noble intentions, by opposition to the deformations which developed in the country's social and political life, or by action on behalf of profound reforms.

In KOR there have been several people whose names are well-known in cultural and scientific circles and who were undoubtedly prompted by noble motives to oppositional activity in the face of the defectiveness of the functioning political and economic system. Nevertheless, the truth is that KOR has been dominated by a relatively narrow group from the circle of the so-called Commandoes -- which has exploited both the name and the remaining members as a shield for the implementation of their own scenario for action.

I believe that most of the members of KOR, the collaborators of this organization, and the sympathizers in particular, are unaware of the real intentions of KOR's directing center. It is characterized by connections with external forces which are hostile to Poland and by unrevealed methods of action, sources of finance, and allocation of funds.

Nor can we have any illusion regarding the significance of the fact of the dissolution (?of KOR). It is solely a case of a certain symbolism or of a deft tactical maneuver, for in essence KOR's open activity ended quite a long time ago. Let us make use of the opinion of Jacek Kuron, an activist of this group, as expressed in an interview for the weekly PARIS MATCH of 27 February 1981. When asked: What does KOR represent today, Kuron said: At the moment almost every member or collaborator of KOR is working in Solidarity, the workers' Solidarity, Rural Solidarity or the student organizations. Recently it has been impossible to speak of a clear activity by KOR as such if we exclude the meetings at which common goals concerning the current situation in Poland are discussed. End of quotation.

Let us add that this manner of activity is characteristic only of a political Mafia.

KOR Leader on Redundancy

PM021501 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 30 Sep 81 p 12

[Unattributed interview with Polish workers' Social Self-Defense Committee founder Jan Jozef Lipski: "KOR Aimed To Mobilize the Workers" -- date and place not given.

[Excerpt] [Lipski] Here were three main reasons. An organization as big and strong as Solidarity can perform all the tasks which the workers Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] set itself much more effectively. Second, almost all KOR's younger members and associates have been very active within Solidarity. To put it simply, there is just not enough time to continue both activities at the same time.

Finally there is an important political motive: Every time we have pronounced on matters of a public nature, as Solidarity members we have had to interfere in discussions and arguments going on within the trade union itself. That did not benefit KOR or Solidarity. For that reason we have kept silent for the past few months.

[Question] When did you begin to count on such a vast effective social response?

[Answer] I think it was in 1979. At that time we began to think seriously that the various actions taken by KOR and the similar spontaneous initiatives might turn into a mass movement or, better still, spark off such a movement. But of course nobody had even thought that such a movement could grow so much in such a short time.

[Question] So KOR had set itself the objective of giving birth to a Solidarity-type movement?

[Answer] Yes, but not from the start. That objective was clearly defined in fall 1977, in the democratic movement's declaration, which spoke of the need to mobilize all social strata and circles to liberate themselves from the totalitarian machine.

[Question] It is said that the political differences within KOR have been transferred to Solidarity. Do you agree with that?

[Answer] In a mass movement like Solidarity it is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion and position. It is an entirely natural process: Everybody contributes something.

[Question] In dissolving KOR, did you not take account of the possibility of needing it again one day in its original form?

[Answer] I think that it is impossible for the Solidarity movement to be destroyed so completely that the only form of action left to us would be a return to the KOR solution.

SOLIDARITY LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON DEVELOPMENTS

PM021427 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 30 Sep 81 p 16

[Paolo Elia report on interview with Solidarity trade union officials Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Ryszard Kalinowski, Jacek Kuron: "Some People Are Trying To Split Us, But Have Miscalculated"]

[Text] Gdansk, 29 Sep -- We took stock of the proceedings of the second stage of the Solidarity national congress currently under way in Gdansk with some authoritative representatives of the trade union: Andrzej Gwiazda, Solidarity deputy chairman; Karol Modzelewski, National Consultative Commission [KKP] member and author of the opening report to the first stage of the congress; Ryszard Kalinowski, deputy chairman in charge of Solidarity's foreign relations' and Jecek Kuron, one of the founders of the KOR, the workers' Social Self-Defense Committee, whose dissolution was announced at the congress yesterday.

We asked Gwiazda what he thinks of the Presidium's decision to accept the proposal adopted by the Sejm concerning self-management. "The Presidium's decision," he replied, "indicated a weakening of Solidarity, a yielding on the part of the trade union, which is all the more serious inasmuch as it is the very people who worked for years on building the mass movement who opened the way to a compromise in which we are the losers. We are concentrating all our efforts on self-management, without formulating a general program reflecting our approach to being a trade union or reflecting our potential for struggle, our real strength in the country. We are backtracking from our positions, making 50 percent demands and obtaining only 25 percent. Solidarity is now in the same situation as it was in March, without weapons and without proposals.

[Question] But how is it possible to emerge from the economic crisis and resolve the country's serious problems? Do you consider a policy based on demands sufficient? Or should there not rather be an active involvement in seeking solutions, to a greater or lesser extent coordinated with the authorities?

[Answer] The crisis is not as serious as it seems: It is not a structural crisis. I am convinced that it is being manipulated by the government and the ministerial bureaucracies. The country has many resources and potentials that are not being fully used. Furthermore, there is insufficient coordination in economic activity.

[Question] So you issue a negative verdict also on Onyszkiewicz' proposal, presented on the eve of the congress, of forming a national cooperation front?

[Answer] It is a plan that has been talked about for at least 6 months and I do not agree with it at all. If the trade union is strong it has no need to join a coalition. Our strength is not the KKP, which negotiates with the government,but the grass roots of workers, our 10 million members. The trade union leadership has been talking for too long with the authorities and the government in a language comprehensible to the powers that be but it is unable to talk with the members of the trade union. Solidarity must decide on its own role and its own future, and it will do this at the congress.

We put the same question to Modzelewski. "On the whole," he replied, "I agree with the need to formulate a self-management law, but the Presidium's decision must make us reflect seriously. I will not go into the correctness or otherwise of the resolution approved, but I am worried by the way in which the decision was reached. The situation is too difficult for us to allow ourselves splits and conflicts, above all internally, but this does not mean that there must be no debate or dialogue. Trade union democracy means not splits but pluralism, debate and dialogue. This is why I believe that the results of the Presidium's decision must not exacerbate the splits. That would be playing into the hands of the government, which wants to split Solidarity.

[Question] What about the proposal for forming a national cooperation front?

[Answer] The present government has lost prestige: an alternative government team [equipe di ricambio al potere] is lacking. The latest congress, despite introducing democratic mechanisms, laid bare the party's face, but I would not attach great importance to that proposal: it is impracticable, even technically.

According to Kalinowski, the proposed self-management law "is a good law, but what is important now is its implementation in individual enterprises. In the majority of enterprises Solidarity is a real force. The workers are aware of their role and have waged struggles for democracy and to gain their rights and will therefore be able to implement the law in the best possible way. We must not force the situation, but try to gain space for ourselves little by little.

[Question] Do you consider the KKP's decision on the appointment of managers acceptable?

[Answer] It was the most that could be obtained without reaching a conflict and without exacerbating the country's tensions.

[Question] Do you agree with the proposal for cooperation put forward by Onyszkiewicz to build a cooperation front embracing government, parties and trade unions?

[Answer] No, in my opinion this proposal means nothing. An attempt is being made to involve Solidarity in some kind of cooperation so as to empty the trade union. No, it will not work; there are other ways of achieving compromises.

We asked Jacek Kuron for the reasons why he voted for the resolution to compromise with the government on self-management. "It is not true," Kuron explained, "that we voted for the self-management law at the KKP Presidium meeting. The resolution related exclusively to one specific point: namely, the appointment of managers in enterprises. It really struck me as a good compromise. What more could have been won? But let's make it quite clear that this does not imply that we accepted the whole text of the law. Furthermore there were conversations and consultations before the Presidium discussions with the chairmen of the three parliamentary groups to find out how the authorities were prepared to react to the proposal."

[Question] What do you think of the law on self-management as a whole?

[Answer] Self-management is one thing, the law is another, and so is the possible compromise with the authorities. I think that Solidarity should center its future program on the proposal of self-management with ramifications at all levels: economic, legal territorial and cultural. This is an offer of collaboration which we are making to the authorities and the state should take account of it; it must adapt to the changes which have taken place in the country; it must negotiate with us on the practical terms of these forms of self-management. In this way it has the possibility of cooperating on a new project which concerns and affects the whole of society. In such a framework the election of managers in the enterprises becomes a secondary matter.

[Question] Olszowski has also drawn up a cooperation proposal, to form a united front ....

[Answer] No, that is not a specific proposal.

(Question] If I am not mistaken Kuron had also proposed a form of cooperation between the trade union and the political forces a few days previously.

[Answer] That was a different matter. And if that observation is meant to imply that Kuron's strategy is one of rapprochment with the government, it is absolutely untrue. I like to speak plainly. Nobody believes in Olszowski's hypotheses. In my opinion a national unity front is not acceptable in that it weakens the national will, and it weakens the trade union. We must move forward step by step and make proposals step by step. We cannot achieve everything at once.... Gradual forms of compromise must be developed until free elections are possible in the country; and the intellectuals' appeal moves in that direction too.

[Question] In this framework, what is the meaning of KOR's decision to disband?

[Answer] The basis of KOR's activity was the conviction of the inviolability of human and civil rights and the conviction that any society must defend itself against force and provocations. We planned to defend rights and freedom by building indpendent social bodies and mutual solidarity. Ours has never been a political movement, and our strength has always been mutual solidarity against violations of the law with regard to the workers. When Solidarity was formed, KOR's function and role was exhausted. It was a unique and unrepeatable phenomenon of social organization whose program was implemented point by point and adapted each time to the country's politico-social conditions. Many of KOR's sympathizers are now in Solidarity; as experts, officials or simply as members. The movement has grown, developed and branched out. It is a mass movement. Therefore KOR's existence no longer has any purpose. It is now Solidarity which defends the workers and their rights.

STUDENTS UNION MEETS TO PLAN DECEMBER CONGRESS

Union Replies to Prosecutor

LD022258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The Presidium of the National Coordinating Commission of the Independent Association of Students [NZS] has published a statement in connection with the communique issued yesterday by the voivodship prosecutor's office which deals with the publishing activities of (Celewica) and (Holowinski) employees of the office of this commission. The statement says resolutely that all independent publishing activities will continue to be supported. Protest actions going as far as a sit-in strike [word indistinct] have been announced in response to activities by the authorities against members and employees of the NZS.

Union Paper Discussed

LD050558 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] A 2-day session of the National Coordinating Commission of the Independent Students Association (NZS) ended in Warsaw on 4 October. Preparations for the union's congress, scheduled for 8-13 December at the Wroclaw Polytechnical Institute were discussed. More than 400 delegates will take part in the congress. [Words indistinct] provides for discussion on the NZS program, election of union officials and amendments to the union's statute.

During the Saturday and Sunday discussions, members of the National Coordinating Commission of the NZS devoted a great deal of attention to discussing the tenets of the union paper which will be published on a weekly basis. Those assembled demanded, in particular, that various world views be covered. Problems connected with the union's international activities were also examined.

WARSAW DISTRICT MILITIA OFFICERS REJECT NEW TU

LD031342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] In connection with the various publications and leaflets concerning the activity of the so-called Founding Committee of the Citizens Militia officers' trade union, the officers of the 15th commissariat of the Citizens' Militia in Warsaw's Wola District have passed a resolution in which they firmly dissociate themselves from the activity of the forementioned committee, and do not recognize it as their representative. The close cooperation, we read in the resolution, entered into by the members of that committee with the extremist faction of NSZZ Solidarity arouses our justified fear that this activity is aimed at breaking up the existing structures and at weakening the Ministry of Internal Affairs' machinery.

The militiamen demand that the real aims of that committee's activity be explained to society; they believe that only the profession's leadership, the party organization and the militia councils are authorized to represent their interests.

DOMESTIC FLIGHTS TO BE CUT FROM 10 OCT

LD021914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] The need to economize on fuel has led the Polish Airline [LOT] to cancel air links with Bydgoszcz as of Saturday 10 October. Also as of 10 October domestic flights on Saturdays will be suspended until further notice.

'OPEN LETTER' PROTESTS NEW 1944 WARSAW MEDAL

PM301359 [Editorial Report] London TYDZIEN POLSKI in Polish 26 September 1981 carries on page 1 the 1,200-word apparent text of an "open letter" written in Warsaw on 31 August 1981 by a group of Polish intellectuals and former members of the wartime Polish underground forces addressed to the "Council of State of the Polish People's Republic." Referring to a recently instituted medal for participants in the Warsaw rising of 1944, the signatories of the letter protest against the attitude of the authorities toward former members of the Polish Home Army who, they state, were persecuted in the past and are still discriminated against. In view of this, the writers of the letter continue, they will not accept that decoration until the history of the resistance movement ceases to be "falsified" and its former members are treated "fairly."

OLSZOWSKI ADDRESSES STUDENTS AT PZPR SCHOOL

LD031846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] The inauguration of the 21st academic year in the Higher School of Social Sciences attached to the PZPR Central Committee took place today. Almost 300 full-time students have begun studies. Norbert Michta, rector of this educational institute, announced that changes in the curricula will be introduced, cooperation with similar establishments in Moscow will be tightened, and links with the working class in Warsaw will be maintained. Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who was present at the ceremony, said that the Higher School of Social Sciences is an important link in the ideological front of the PZPR, especially now when the party has been mobilizing its personnel and intellectual potential over the past year in order to extricate the country from the crisis. The implementation of the program of the ninth congress is not, however, proceeding without difficulties. It is taking place in conditions of an economic crisis and of a struggle against extremist forces which are hostile toward socialism and strive to transform Solidarity into an instrument for fighting this political system. Stefan Olszowski said that the party is counting on the students of the Higher School of Social Sciences in the struggle against the opponent of socialism.

ONESCU TALKS WITH SOVIET TRADE UNION OFFICIAL

AU031644 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Cornel Onescu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, today had talks with Aleksey Ivanovich Shibayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, who is on a friendly visit in our country for an exchange of experience as head of a Soviet trade union delegation.

During the ensuing talk, which took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and cordiality, the two sides had an extensive exchange of information and experience regarding the activity and concern of trade unions in the two countries and in connection with certain aspects of the world trade union movement. They stressed the role played and contribution made by the trade unions in Romania and the Soviet Union to implementing the goals set forth by the communist parties in the two countries to build socialism and communism.

Stressing the positive relations between the working people and peoples of the two countries, the two sides emphasized that a decisive role in developing and diversifying those relations is played by the meetings and understandings concluded between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. Both sides stressed the desire to continue to develop and strengthen the positive relations of friendship and cooperation between the trade unions and working people in Romania and the Soviet Union in the interests of the working people in the two countries and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

RCP MESSAGE TO IRAN'S TUDEH PARTY REPORTED

AU021055 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0906 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Marking the 40th foundation anniversary of the CC of the Tudeh Party of Iran, the CC of the RCP sent a congratulatory telegram to the CC of that party.

This anniversary -- the telegram reads -- is an important event in the history of your party, of the working class in Iran and takes place at the time of deep-going revolutionary and social transformations, processes and phenomena world wide highlighting the peoples' determination to put an end to the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, to live free and independent, to sovereignly decide their destinies without any outside interference as goals for the attainment of which the consolidation of unity and solidarity of all democratic and progressive forces is required.

The telegram reasserts the conviction that the relations of friendship, cooperation and militant solidarity between the two parties will further strengthen and develop, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect, in the interest of the Romanian and Iranian peoples, of the cause of freedom, national independence, peace collaboration and progress of all peoples.

VERDET RECEIVES SYRIAN MINISTER OF RELIGIONS

AU021855 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, this morning received Muhammad al-Khatib, minister of religious trusts of the Arab Syrian Republic, who is visiting our country. The guest said he has the pleasant mission of conveying to President Nicolae Ceausescu warm greetings and best wishes from Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. Expressing thanks, the Romanian prime minister conveyed friendly greetings and best wishes to President Hafiz al-Asad on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The two sides emphasized with satisfaction the good relations of friendship and cooperation continuously developing between the two countries and peoples in the spirit of talks and agreements between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad. They expressed the conviction that these relations will further deepen and diversify, for the benefit of both countries and peoples and in the interests of detente, security, peace and understanding among nations.

The meeting, which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Ion Rosianu, chairman of the department of religions, and Syrian ambassador to Bucharest Hayssam Barakat.

FINANCE MINISTER ATTENDS IMF-IBRD TALKS

Meets IMF, PRC Officials

AU031356 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 3 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Petre Gigea, minister of finance, head of the Romanian delegation to the joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, had an interview with Jacques de Larosiere, IMF managing-director. On the occasion, aspects were approached of the cooperation between Romania and the IMF and actions and measures were discussed meant to lead to the further development of this cooperation.

The Romanian minister also met with (Li Baohua), head of the Chinese delegation attending the meeting, with whom he discussed questions regarding the current stage of the collaboration in the financial-banking field between Romania and the People's Republic of China, the exchange of experience in this field between the two countries and the prospects of their further expansion. Likewise, questions were approached included in the meeting's agenda and the possibility of further consolidating the Romanian-Chinese cooperation in international financial and banking bodies.

Talks at U.S. Treasury

AU041831 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Washington, 4 Oct (AGERPRES) -- In Washington to attend the proceedings of the IMF-IBRD parallel meeting, the head of the Romanian delegation, Petre Gigea, minister of finance, had interviews with Petar Kostic, head of the Yugoslav delegation, federal secretary for finance; Alphons van der Stee, head of the Dutch delegation, minister of finance, and Abd al-Latif al-Hamad, head of the Kuwait delegation, minister of finance. The Romanian minister also conducted talks at the Treasury Department of the USA.

On the occasion, aspects were approached of the further development of the relations between Romania and the respective countries in the economic and financial-banking fields, in the spirit of the decisions reached during summit meetings, and questions related to the expansion of cooperation within international financial and banking organizations. At the same time, the Romanian delegation had a series of contacts and working meetings with executives from "Manufacturers' Hanover Trust", "First National Bank of Chicago", and "Morgan Guaranty Trust" (USA), from "Lloyds Bank" (Great Britain) and "National Bank of Abu-Dhabi", as well as from other banks. Attending the interviews were Nicolae Eremia, president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade, and Gheorghe Popescu, president of the Investment Bank.

AGERPRES REVIEWS INVESTMENTS IN ECONOMY

AU031712 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The reinvestment of an important part of the national income in the main branches of the economy proves to be the safest way of progress and welfare for Romania, under the circumstances of contemporary development, when the technico-scientific revolution allows the efficient capitalization of work resources.

On the basis of the distribution of the national development fund, made up of accumulations from the national income, comprehensive programmes of capital constructions have been carried out. A telling example in this respect is the past quinquennium (1976-1980), when 943 thousand million lei were earmarked for investment, which allowed of commissioning more than 2,400 important industrial and farm units as well as of modernizing many of the existing ones. As a result, by the end of 1980, the national economy had over 180 big industrial platforms, equitable distributed on the territory (all the country's counties have at present the necessary capacities for achieving an annual industrial output of at least 10 thousand million lea). At the same time, 780,000 flats as well as other objectives of social and cultural interest were built over the 1976-1980 quinquennium.

Significant conclusions can be drawn not only from the dynamics of investment (in the last three decades their amount increased 36 times), but also from their structure, where an ever greater share is held by outfit -- machinery, equipment and plant. The obvious orientation towards the rise of the value of fixed assets reflects the efforts made for modernizing the economy, promoting technical progress, for increasing the national wealth, first of all on the account of its active, directly productive part. At present, Romania has important fixed assets, highly technical ones most of them. In 1980, their value was about 2,000 thousand million lei, almost 40 per cent of them being commissioned over the 1976-1980 quinquennium.

In 1981 too, the volume of investment provided for by the single national plan is important: 220 thousand million lei. They are to be carried through according to the fresh investment law which expresses the orientation towards consolidating what has been achieved so far. The new juridical frame turns this year into an exceptional period as regards investment, by the great number of objectives to be commissioned. The financial and material efforts have been oriented towards the objectives which could be finished first as they already had the designs they needed and the building capacities and contracts for the necessary equipment. No less than 160 main economic objectives are to be achieved this year. Among them, there are the Cluj-Napoca heavy outfit combine, the Rosia-Jiu and Pesteana Lignite pits, the Lupeni mineral coal exploitation, the Tirgoviste "Otelinox" small section and wire rolling mill, the Viisoara irrigation system, the Sf. Gheorghe automotive subassemblies factory, etc. The pace of the activity carried on in building sites is very intense, which shows the new legislation has lent a dynamic character to the investment work, speeding up the integration of big producer units in the efforts made for the country's development. As a matter of fact, 40 priority objectives have been built in advance.

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC TALKS WITH INDIA -- New Delhi, 24 Sep (AGERPRES) -- The first working meeting of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania and the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry took place at Delhi. It singled out fresh opportunities to diversify the trade exchanges and the collaboration in production between the two countries, inclusive of the setting up of joint enterprises in third countries. The Romanian delegation also had talks with the ministers of energy, trade and steel, with the state minister of agriculture and toured numerous industrial objectives. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 24 Sep 81 AU]

DJURANOVIC SPEECH TO SFRY ASSEMBLY ON ECONOMY

LD012120 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0921 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Federal Executive Council was scheduled to submit a report on the implementation of the conclusions of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency by the end of October. However, in view of the exceptional complexity of the present economic situation, the Federal Executive Council accepted the initiative of the Presidium of the SFRY Assembly that it should submit a report on the measures adopted and activities pursued 1 month earlier, at this session. This was stated by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the beginning of his introductory expose to delegates of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly in connection with the report on the measures taken and activities pursued with the aim of implementing the conclusions of the Chambers of the SFRY Assembly.

In the period of time which has passed since the adoption of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidium and the conclusions of the assembly chambers, it may be stated that significant measures have been taken and activities organized and continue to be taken and organized throughout the country with the aim of settling economic conditions and surmounting economic problems and difficulties, which have at this stage manifested themselves in a very acute form, especially in connection with the balance of payments for 1981 and the country's foreign liquidity.

The conclusions mentioned above also contain longer-term tasks and are concerned with the efforts to direct actions toward the elimination of the basic causes which have for a long time now given rise to economic instability. Consequently, in the next period it will be necessary to approach their realization as a whole more thoroughly, in a better organized manner and more efficiently, Djuranovic said. Due to the gravity of the present economic situation and the need to adopt all the necessary measures to halt the negative trends which manifested themselves, first the SFRY Presidium and then the LCY Central Committee discussed the most important aspects of the present economic situation and arrived at agreed appraisals of the situation and the existing problems and established the most direct tasks of all social factors, which are of particular importance at this moment, Djuranovic emphasized.

In all the republics and provinces activity has been stepped up with the aim of finalizing concrete export programs of efforts aimed at increasing exports in the period up to the end of this year and in the course of next year. This intensified activity still continues in the republics and provinces. Along with finalizing export programs, the republics and provinces are also adopting measures intended to encourage exports.

Measures have also been adopted with the aim of reducing consumption in order to secure the funds necessary for the encouragement of goods and services. Consequently, there is no problem of a shortage of such funds.

Measures and activities intended to restrain demand at home and curb rising prices and thus contribute to higher exports have also continued. Both in one direction and the other, concrete measures, discussed in the Federal Executive Council report, have been adopted.

The earlier supplementary measures and additional measures and activities have yielded certain results.

First, the rate of growth of industrial production has been assured and this has contributed to higher exports and alleviated the problem of keeping the markets supplied in the country, while the monthly deficit in the balance of payments in trade with the convertible area began to drop in July, August and September as compared with the average monthly payments deficit in the first half of the year.

Djuranovic went on to say that careful monitoring, republic by republic, of the fluctuations in the exchange of goods with the convertible area showed that there was a constant trend toward declining exports, rising imports and the growth of the trade deficit in connection with payments in convertible currencies in the majority of federal units. Thus, the share of the deficit in trade with the convertible area was as follows in 1980 in comparison with 1978: in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina it rose by 1.6 percentage points; in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, by 3.9; in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, by 3.6; in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, by 3.7; and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, by 2.9 percentage points. At the same time the share of the trade deficit in the total trade deficit with the convertible area dropped in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia by 0.3; in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia by 12.4 and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia — without socialist autonomous provinces -- by 8.1 percentage points.

To this one should add the fact that the growth of the trade deficit was not accompanied by an incrase in non-commodity foreign exchange income on the basis of which it was possible in preceding years to cover the trade deficit to a greater extent -- in 1975 by 71 percent; in 1976 by 106 percent; in 1977 by 64 percent; in 1978 by 59 percent; in 1979 by 49 percent; and in 1980 by 62 percent. All this indicates that there is a deterioration in the country's balance of payments and foreign exchange balance and a deterioration in the state of foreign liquidity, which makes it more difficult to reach accord on our joint foreign exchange policy.

The causes of such fluctuating trends in commodity exchange, which give rise to instability and exacerbate the problem of the country's foreign liquidity, have been recognized.

We have enjoyed a rate of development which exceeds the realistic material possibilities, and which has on the one hand created a high domestic demand and thereby weakened the orientation towards exports, and on the other hand has increased our level of indebtedness abroad.

We have also lived for a long time with considerable structural problems, and have found no way of resolving them by joint efforts, as a result of which the country's foreign currency liquidity is getting worse, in spite of a corresponding growth in exports and foreign currency income as a whole.

While we have already gradually started to slow down the rate of economic growth -- in place of an annual economic growth rate of over 5 percent, we are now aiming for a growth rate of 3 percent per annum -- the question of structural problems nevertheless remains an open one.

Djuranovic then said that the Federal Executive Council had charged the competent federal organs with the task of examining the basic elements of the joint projection of the country's payment and currency balance, with the aim of taking an orientation toward reducing the deficit in the balance of payments for 1982 to the greatest possible extent, aiming to take into account all conditions and measures which would make it possible to eliminate as soon as possible the deficit in the country's balance of payments in transactions concerning convertible currency areas, and aiming to outline on this basic approach the policy for realizing the goals and tasks of the social plan in 1982.

There is no doubt that this makes the tasks of increasing exports even more important than ever, with other matters being subordinate to that. At the same time, this orientation makes even more urgent the need to reach agreement on resolving the priority tasks of development, with the aim of overcoming structural disproportions. The growth of all forms of consumption, or of distribution of income, must be fundamentally adapted and subordinated to this concept of development policy in 1982. This makes necessary a reexamination of rights in the field of joint and general consumption.

The need to bring the expenditure of the federal budget and the budget expenditure of the other socioeconomic communities into conformity with the present economic situation stands out particularly strongly, demanding a reduction of inflationary impulses on this basis. The Federal Executive Council has therefore assessed that the first version of the draft federal budget for 1982, which the competent organ drew up on the basis of the proportions fixed by individual agreements on the bases of the Yugoslav social plan and the corresponding legal regulations, does not accord with the present economic situation and the demands of the economic stabilization policy for, as such, it assumes a considerably higher growth in the budget expenditure of the federation than the level of growth of the social product reckoned on for next year. It is true that in recent years we have reduced the share of the budget expenditure of the federation in the country's social product. In 1981 this share was reduced by 11 to 7.94 percent in relation to the share of the budget expenditure of the federation in the 1976 social product. Regarded from this point of view, positive changes are clearly involved, with a simultaneous reduction in the share of funds from primary issues for financing the federal budget from 8.6 in 1976 to 2.7 percent in 1981.

However, in spite of these positive changes, the total federal expenditure is high, so that every year they must be financed by increasing the contributions from the republics and provinces or by high fiscal demands, which all promotes the growth of inflation and burdens the income of the economy.

Particular obligations facing us in the period ahead relate to the need to coordinate social plans with the real material balances of disposable and supplementary accumulation and of consumption funds. The latest assessments and standpoints of the SFRY Presidency underline the requirement for a start to be made on adapting the social plans of all sociopolitical communities and organizations of associated labor, proceeding from the present situation, and in accordance with the applied principle of continuous planning. These standpoints lay emphasis on the demand for development policy to be more firmly founded upon a realistic material basis, and to be consistently coordinated with the needs of economic stabilization. Until now a disharmony has existed between the Yugoslav social plan and the social plans of the republics and provinces; because of this the Assembly decisions specify the obligation for these plans to be coordinated. Now this task is enlarged, so that this coordination assumes not only that the republican and provincial plans should be brought into accord with the Yugoslav social plan, but also that priorities in development policy should be squeezed, proceeding from the funds genuinely disposable and from the obligations which will result on the basis of accords about resolving that which is a priority for all -- energy, basic raw materials and food -- but all subordinated to the determined course toward stabilization of the country's balance of payments. The Federal Executive Council has charged the competent organs with starting on this work.

The Federal Executive Council, in examining these problems on several occasions, has concluded that one of the reasons for the delay in fulfilling the obligations of the third part of the plan is the fact that the basis for coordination of the standpoints of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces has not always been drawn up in time nor sufficiently well, so that it has on several occasions had to be submitted for reworking. Although it has tried to speed all this up, cooperating here with the executive councils of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, the Federal Executive Council has not managed to accomplish this task within the time schedules first set. The fact that an exceptionally voluminous and complex matter is involved, within the framework of which the material balances and the obligations undertaken have to be coordinated, has certainly influenced this; and it was hard to accomplish all this within 6 months of the adoption of the social plan.

Something else which affected this, according to Djuranovic, was the fact that while the standpoints were being coordinated, the representatives of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces did not manifest all the necessary readiness to come to joint decisions more rapidly in the process of agreement-making. The proposals originally put forward, and manifested interests, were dwelled upon for too long and too stubbornly. One perceives here that overemphatic development ambitions are still in evidence. This is also partly affected by the lack of competence of representatives of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to make a more specific approach to amendments and addenda to the draft bases for agreement on the grounds that the assemblies of the socialist republics and of the socialist autonomous provinces adopted the social plans, and that they cannot go any further than that. It is clear that we have not yet put into practice the approach which derives from the principle of continuous planning, which is emobided in law and which was clearly emphasized when the social plan was adopted.

In this connection the SFRY Assembly and the assemblies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces should adopt the appropriate conclusion making possible the essential coordination of social plans, because, given the considerable differences of views between the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces, such as on foreign loans, energy resources, and agroindustrial complex and so forth, the process of coordination cannot be made more efficient without the necessary powers being given to the representatives of the appropriate organs of the socialist republics and the autonomous socialist provinces.

Apart from this, the Federal Executive Council deemed it necessary to direct efforts made now and in the period up to the end of 1981 primarily toward achieving accord on those agreements which concern the priority tasks and on whose carrying out the adoption of a joint policy of carrying out the social plan in 1982 will depend.

The Federal Executive Council appraises as unfavorable in the present situation the fact that the necessary conditions for the work of the foreign exchange market had not been created. The situation has not changed as compared with the end of the first half of the year, when the Federal Executive Council submitted a report on the carrying out of the social plan for the period from 1981 to 1985.

This is to say that the following three basic prerequisites have not been achieved: keeping the balance of payments deficit within the envisaged limits, which are in keeping with the possibilities in the field of foreign debts; the realization of the kind of program of foreign loans which would ensure the full and dynamically balanced financing of the envisaged balance of payments deficit and the necessary growth of foreign exchange reserves; and ensuring a considerably faster circulation of the total amount of the available foreign exchange, especially in business banks and the more rapid flow into the country of foreign exchange earned by exporting goods and services. The program of raising loans abroad is based on the planned balance of payments deficit and after its implementation, as it stands, the current dynamism would have been satisfactory. However, since the extent and dynamism of the balance of payments deficit are greater, the present dynamism of raising financial credits cannot cover it. In this connection it should be stressed that even a strict carrying out of the balance of payments program as envisaged, and the carrying out of the program of loan-raising would not have been enought to enable the functioning of the foreign exchange market unless backed by the mobility of all the available foreign exchange. The Federal Executive Council's decision aimed at making this possible was not carried out because the above-mentioned prerequisites for the functioning of the foreign exchange market have not been met.

The Federal Executive Council attaches special importance to the adoption of regulations on the current payments for crude oil in the second half of this year, because in the present conditions this is the only way to ensure payment from the current foreign exchange inflow, with the proviso that in applying this regulation it is necessary to comply with the provision contained in it, according to which this regulation should not be applied in the case of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces which pay for crude oil regularly and in the agreed manner.

Djuranovic then drew attention to the problems of energy and to the need to adopt the necesssary measures with the aim of substantially reducing the disruptions experienced in keeping the economy and the population supplied with electricity. Due to delays in the building of several energy capacities, while some have been out of action for repairs for a long time, the problem of electricity supplies has become acute. In the period from 1976 to 1980, new capacities producing 7,900 megawatts of electrical energy were planned to be commissioned. Instead, the capacities built and put into operation amounted to 5,056 megawatts, or 66 percent. In 1981, instead of the planned new capacities of 2,055 megawatts, all that has so far been put into operation is a capacity of 88 megawatts. Due to this and to hydrological conditions which are more unfavorable than those of last year, there have been difficulties in keeping up the supplies of electrical energy. The tasks concerning the adoption of measures aimed at speeding up the building of electricity capacities are of the greatest importance in this respect and they would also eliminate any uncertainty as to when the projects concerned would be completed.

Apart from the adoption of regulations securing the foreign exchange needed for the current payments to cover imported crude oil up to the end of the year, the Federal Executive Council considers that one should aim at passing regulations which would remain in force at the beginning of 1982. In other words, that one should ensure in a more stable manner payments for imported crude oil, oil derivaties and coking coal, because it does not expect the problems of ensuring foreign exchange resources for these needs to be overcome.

It is indispensable to adopt more effective measures to enable an increase in the production of coal, especially for general and mass consumption. We cannot be content with what has so far been done and achieved, primarily because of the delay in ensuring permanent sources of finds for the development of coalmines, even those coalmines which would have been able to raise production this year or next year. Moreover, even this year no accord has been reached between the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces on measures aimed at providing the necessary encouragement for the opening of new coal mines and modernization of the existing ones and of oil and gas exploitation fields. Unless this question is resolved, the adoption of special measures will be come indispensable.

It is necessary to ensure a high level of economizing in the economy, outside the economy and by the population. Consequently, one justifiably expects all the working people and citizens to join the efforts being made to save electricity and energy fuels and in that way make a contribution to efforts to ensure unfailing and regular electricity supplies.

Djuranovic said that the implementation of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the conclusions of the Assembly chambers on investments is of the greatest importance.

Djuranovic stressed the need to have a complete insight into the structure of investments, noted that investment projects now under construction had already claimed large resources and that on the assumption that costs would rise these resources would be even higher, and said that material obligations should be given a concrete form in connection with the efforts to carry out the priority development tasks and that for this reason one should make sure that funds were channeled in this direction.

All this imposes an obligation on all the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to thoroughly analyze, define and coordinate the policy in this sector in the forthcoming period.

To ensure the implementation of the policy of growth of general and joint consumption in keeping with the orientations given in the resolution, a law has been passed on ways of disposing of the surplus budgetary income of the sociopolitical communities. The law imposes an obligation on the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to ensure the return of revenue in excess of the established level within 30 days of the expiration of the periods of the first 6 or 9 months of this year by means of reducing the rate of tax on and contributions from personal incomes.

The pressing need for the implementation of the adopted measures is illustrated by the statistics on the revenue paid in the republics and provinces to satisfy the needs of the general and joint social requirements. This also illustrates all the seriousness of this problem, because, for instance, in the January-August period this year the growth of general consumption amounted in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to 43 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, 55 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, 45 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, 60 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, 35 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Serbia -- without the socialist autonomous provinces -- 22 percent; in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, 59 percent; and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, 48 percent. At the same time the growth of revenue paid to meet the joint needs amounted in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to 41 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, 33 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, 34 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, 38 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, 27 percent; in the Socialist Republic of Serbia -- without the socialist autonomous provinces -- 40 percent; in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, 37 percent; and in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, 45 percent.

The growth of unpaid obligations by 70 percent in the first half of the year and the problems caused by financial indiscipline in the disposal of the bills of exchange and creating demand for spending by means of bills of exchange above the appropriate level of supply, indicate the deformations in the introduction in the new accounting system of payment, which obviously makes it possible to accept obligations and enter debtor-creditor relations without securing the means of payment, Djuranovic said.

It has also become the regular practice for organizations of associated labor to pay out full personal incomes, and even to increase them, even when they testify to losses in their final accounts. In this way all payments which are not in fact covered in realized income act as a generator of uncovered consumption, something which has a negative effect by creating demand, which then exerts pressures deepening the global and sectoral imbalance of commodity and money relations and thereby makes more profound the non-liquidity of the economy and the banking system. One should add here that the banks are still not abandoning the realization of their programs, which also exacerbates the non-liquidity question.

The phenomena in evidence, and the high rise in mutual credits between organizations of associated labor in the economy in the first half of the year show that the economy's liquidity has been reduced to below the level needed for payments to be made unhindered. If the demands for growth of credit are added to this, then it is quite clear that the question of the strict implementation of the existing regulations, and respect for legality in regard to reconciling mutual obligations in the economy, must be placed on the agenda without delay.

The buoyant conditions on the domestic market prolong the disharmony between supply and demand, and with the low efficiency of economic activity, the inappropriate distribution of labor and the specialization and underdevelopment of association of labor and means on the basis of income, with high production costs which are growing both on the basis of greater appropriation from the economy's income for joint and general consumption, and on the basis of irrational investments, constantly exerts pressure on price increases and maintains the high inflation level. [sentence as received] In these conditions, as trends in our country show this year, too, it is hard to reckon on greater motivation on the part of the economy to increase exports.

In fact, the high level of price rises now appears as a brake on greater exports. In addition to the other causes influencing the increasing unfavorability of high prices, it is now this cause which imposes itself as almost the only one pointing to the need for an increased, more effective and better-thought-out struggle to overcome inflation.

Inflationary pressures were so strong at the end of last year and the beginning of this year that, in spite of appropriate measures being undertaken, they could not be held in check in sufficient measure in later months. The direct social control measures which were invoked in accordance with the law on the system and social control of prices yielded certain results, but it is understandable that they cannot resolve the problems of inflation.

Djuranovic emphasized that in the period ahead the chief direction of action must be aimed at coordinating material relations, at overcoming the disparity between supply and demand, particularly at radically reducing and changing the structure of investment demand. And also at an even better-elaborated policy of income distribution, which must of necessity even further strengthen the course toward strengthening the material basis of associated labor. Within production and its organizations there certainly exist great reserves whose activization would help eliminate the causes breeding expenditure inflation.

In addition, application of the law on the bases of the system of prices and social control should strengthen the role and responsibility of associated labor in this field; by regulation of pricing relations through self-management agreements and social contracts.

The Federal Executive Council considers that measures of direct social control of prices are closely linked with the process of self-management agreement-making and social contracting of associated labor on pricing policy. The stronger and more complete contracting and agreement-making are, the sooner will the need for application of direct social control come to an end.

The president of the Federal Executive Council pointed to the great responsibility of the numerous social factors that determine prices in the new conditions. The situation today is such that 46 percent of the producers' prices lie within the competence of the Federation, and 54 percent within the competence of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces: 30 percent of retail prices lie within the competence of the federation, and 70 percent within the competence of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces; 9 percent of prices for services are within the competence of the federation, and 91 percent lie within the competence of the socialist republics, socialist autonomous provinces and municipalities. Prices move at differing rates, or rise more slowly or more quickly, depending on whose competence they come under. As a rule, "one's own" prices rise more quickly, thereby bringing about an uneconomic redistribution on the unified market. The problems of differing application of criteria for setting prices, of differing prices for the same product in different areas [words indistinct] that there is no economic basis for a differing attitude to pricing agreements, brings considerable breakdowns and facilitates pricing spirals, so that it is essential that factors involved in pricing decisions take far greater account of this and bring about closer cooperation within pricing communities.

It should be borne in mind that in months ahead there will be increased pressure on price increases, for many factors will influence this: the inevitability of resolving the question of domestic prices for petroleum derivatives, given the great changes in currency relations; the necessity of reducing the volume and level of compensations and the continued presence of an imbalance in goods and money relations; and the existing disparities in prices. All this makes it obligatory for great attention to be continually devoted to policy and relations in the field of prices.

This year great efforts have been exerted to improve supplies on the market, and in spite of difficulties constantly in evidence, the situation is better than last year.

However, there continue to be causes making the satisfactory supply of the market more difficult, particularly as a result of considerable fluctuations in production of a number of basic agricultural products, due to the needs of increased exports, due to the necessity to limit imports of consumer goods, with the exception of those which are most essential to meet the everyday needs of the population, and as a result of the still considerable weaknesses in the overall organization of the market.

At present, given the good and even high yield of individual agricultural crops (grapes, vegetables and some sorts of fruit), producers' prices for which are even lower than in 1980, everything possible must be done to ensure that buying up and storage is carried out in as organized and large-scale way as possible, to ensure better and cheaper supplies to large towns and consumer centers, and to ensure that additional measures for export are undertaken.

Particularly important tasks arise in connection with supply of raw materials and reproduction materials to production.

Increasingly great efforts are being made in this regard by organizations of associated labor. Given industrial production's dependence on imports of raw materials and reproduction materials, on the one hand, and the necessity to exert even greater efforts to increase imports, on the other hand, even more attention must be focused on activity toward income-linking of organizations of associated labor in the process of reproduction, especially in connection with the more long-term regulation of the problem of supplies of raw materials and reproduction materials.

Autumn sowing is an immediate task of great importance for the economic stabilization trends. This task is one of the most basic agricultural produce, the failure of the wheat and oil harvest this year, the poor organization of production in cooperatives, and the high production costs, in addition to the difficultires relating to securing currency funds for imports of artificial fertilizer and spare machine parts. The Federal Executive Council has concluded that it would be necessary to increase the plan for wheat sowing, and in this regard has submitted a recommendation to the executive councils of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces.

In the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and in the federation work has been carried out over recent months on establishing the material balances of the basic agricultural food products, which will create the basis for long-term, self-managing agreement-making and contracting between all organizations and communities involved, in order to agree on production and deliveries and to regulate mutual obligations of food producers and consumers. However, this work is behind schedule and efforts must be stepped up in order to bring it to a conclusion and establish the real material balances for the period 1981-85, and 1982. Without such established material balances there can be no long-term agreement-making on production and deliveries of agricultural products, nor firm income-based linkage between organizations in the field of production, trading and consumption. Djuranovic then stressed that the Federal Executive Council is exerting great efforts to submit to the SFRY Assembly by 20 October the draft resolution on the realization of the Yugoslav social plan in 1982, with drafts of the major documents.

In drawing up the draft development and economic policy for 1982 and the accompanying measures, the starting point must be the fact that, in conditions where problems have accumulated, with more profound (?current) causes breeding economic instability, it will be necessary to set and combine policy and measures in such a way that they lead above all to direct improvement, and also to the long-term consolidation of positive tendencies. In conditions in which the balance of payment capacitites are even further exacerbated, and in which industrial growth is dependent upon imports of raw materials and reproduction materials, the concept of policy for next year should be founded upon the most realistic possible bases, and upon a realistic assessment of the material possibilities of development.

The basic approach must be expressed in a determined orientation toward increasing imports and foreign currency income as a whole, and in fixing an integrated complex of measures which will facilitate export expansion. It is precisely this which must be the main lever to maintain economic activity. And imports policy must also be worked out in a more integrated and specific way, ensuring an imports structure which will serve export expansion and facilitate imports for energy needs and for the vital needs of the population. Investment activity must also develop along the same lines, which means priority must be given to completing those investment projects under construction which yield the best results in terms of exports, and resolving energy problems. Every new economic investment must be firmly subordinated to the aim of attaining greater export results, and in this regard it is necessary to specify all the necessary criteria and, if necessary, to adopt the appropriate regulations.

The continued slowing down of inflation is also one of the essential tasks in our development and economic policy in the coming year, and it, among other things, is most closely linked with the expansion of exports. The way to achieve this, apart from forceful measures to reduce domestic demand, is to program a calming down in price rises, while at the same time strengthening all other measures in relation to realizing this task. Here, also, we need to define a realistic policy, on the existence of the causes of price rises which arise from the structure and from consumption inflation, we need to consolidate a gradual but realistic policy of lowering the inflation rate.

It is of special significance to affirm even more the policy and measures which will ensure distribution of income in favor of associated labor and, in the context of internal distribution, in favor of accumulation. The consistent policy of a growth in general and joint consumption which is slower than the growth in the social product, the adoption and application of new regulations on estimating basic resources and on depreciation, and the prevention of anticipated consumption and deficit financing of consumption and so forth will allow for a strengthening of the material basis of self-management, which is of the greatest significance for both the strengthening of quality sources of financing expanded reproduction and for creating the real conditions to dynamize the process of pooling of labor and resources and strengthen income-based relations in the process of social reproduction.

We also need to realistically define a policy of the standard of living. It is obvious that as a result of strained relations in the distribution of the social product and considerable sums set aside to pay off obligations in credits, insufficient resources will be available in order to satisfy the level of final consumption already achieved. In these conditions we need to work out more precisely measures to protect the standard of living of those categories of the population with low incomes from work or those who have a low personal income as their only source of income. It is not possible to promise a growth in the standard of living, but it is possible to ensure a policy to protect the standard of living by working out measures of social policy for that part of the population with low incomes and those without any extra income. This means that we must work out a very selective social policy and ensure the resources for the needs thus defined. This is needed all the earlier because the calming down in the growth of consumption may strengthen social policy funds in organizations of associated labor, municipalities, socialist autonomous provinces and socialist republics. Along these lines we need to continue even more resolutely the policy of a growth in personal incomes in production -- which is productive and which is the exponent of economic activity and in particular of exports and foreign currency income -- which is more rapid than the growth in personal incomes in nonproductive activities. Certain results have been achieved this year in this respect, but this tendency needs to be strengthened and consolidated even more.

The Federal Executive Council endorses the SFRY Presidency's proposal to form a commission attached to the Federal Social Councils for economic development, economic policy and questions of the social system. The commission would be composed of the most responsible representatives of federal organs and sociopolitical organizations, and of the republics and provinces.

This commission's task is to prepare a proposed all-encompassing program of economic stabilization, and on this basis to contribute to work on adapting agreements on the bases of the social plan and speeding up work on agreements to carry out priority tasks defined by the social plan and their adaption to real material possibilities. It should also help effective coordination of standpoints on the most important issues of current economic policy in preparation for the submission of the 1982 economic policy, as well as helping in work on coordinating standpoints in connection with the implementation of systemic laws and the further perfection of systemic solutions. With such an organized form of work, and by taking advantage of the experiences gained in work on adopting systemic solutions and working out comprehensive programs of stabilization, we should be able to achieve even greater optimum results in work in a situation which is characterized by many definite problems and several open questions. At the same time, we should be able to promote the involvement of all organs and organizations in the more responsible and effective carrying out of their normal functions and operational tasks, especially on the question of the role of executive and administrative organs, Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, concluded.

RILINDJA REPUDIATES ALBANIAN ALLEGATIONS

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[Text] Pristina, 1 Oct (TANJUG) -- The Pristina daily RILINDJA today repudiates the malicious allegations and fabrications published by the Tirana weekly MESUESI on the state of Albanian language education in the autonomous province of Kosovo and the republics of Montenegro and Macdeonia.

"We are surprised how quickly MESUESI has forgotten its earlier articles about education in Kosovo and the admiration for Kosovo schools which teachers from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania expressed during their visit here last year", writes RILINDJA, organ of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo.

The paper recalls that on October 29, 1980, Albanians were able to read an article in MESUESI full of good impressions of Kosovo schools and headlined "We Are Sincerely Pleased at the Achievements You Have Made".

RILINDJA asks how it was impossible for the Albanian weekly to become so quickly "convinced" of the danger threatening Albanian schools and culture from what it calls "Greater Serbian Chauvinism" and to take a contrary stand to that of its reporter and Albanian teachers when they visited Kosovo.

The Pristina daily writes that the new school year in Kosovo has commenced normally.

RILINDJA cites numerous data on the strong development of teaching and education in Kosovo. In the past 36 years, the number of primary and secondary school pupils has increased 13 times and now totals some 400,000. The university at Pristina has ten faculties and seven higher schools which are training young people for 42 professions, the paper writes.

The Pristina daily underlines that teachers in Kosovo who acted from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism cannot be entrusted with (?teaching) and educating young generations and asks: "What would be the fate of such teachers in Albania?"

The paper concludes that MESUESI should devote more attention to schools in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to "The atmosphere marked by the absence of freedom of thought among teachers and students, hidebound in Stalnist dogma".